Daily Report

East Europe

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16 January 1991

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NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Valias Miners Continue Strike; Await Response

AU1501152091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The strike of the Valias miners still continues today. The strike committee and the miners still await a reply from the government commission in connection with their demand for a wage increase. The government met this morning to analyze the situation which has arisen. We will carry further reports about this in other news broadcasts.

Council of Ministers Meet, Comment

AU1501205591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Unattributed report: "Special Meeting of the Council of Ministers on the Serious Situation in the Economy"]

[Text] Today, on 15 January 1991, the Council of Ministers held a special meeting to discuss the situation created at the Valias mine in close connection with the situation through which our economy as a whole is passing. It warned that the economic situation has deteriorated as a result of continuing serious violations of labor discipline and legal regulations in many areas of vital importance for the normal functioning of the economy. It was stressed that this critical situation can be overcome only by the full and serious commitment of all working collectives and state bodies at the center and the base to fulfill duties in production and services to the people at all costs. The Council of Ministers judged that the way to solve many accumulated problems relating to the level of wage rates and working conditions of working people—especially in key sectors of production for supplies to the people—cannot be found in work stoppages and ultimatums for hasty, partial, and economically unviable solutions, but only in the concrete commitment of all working people to produce and create the necessary material, financial, and hard currency resources, on the basis of the powerful incentives given by the introduction of the new economic mechanism and closer ties of cooperation with foreign capital.

The Council of Ministers heard and approved the report on the work carried out by the government group charged with considering the demands of the Valias miners and improving the conditions in this mine which is so important for normal life in the capital city. On this basis, it took the following measures:

1. It approved the relevant decree for more acceptable bonuses in the current economic situation in connection with the pay of all workers in the mine who work underground and on the surface and for all underground geological workers. These bonuses amount to 30-50 percent of wages or between 300 and 360 leks per month.

2. The increase in the annual wage fund of 175 million leks will be achieved by the following changes: It will be reflected in the financial results of these enterprises and will be met by budget subsidies for loss-making enterprises, while these enterprises themselves will create other enterprises with supplementary earnings based on the incentive effects of the new wages.

3. The retirement age of mechanics, electricians, and other auxiliary trades in the mines and in geology who work under the same conditions as miners is reduced to 50. Furthermore, all workers in mines and geology who return every night to their families will be given free bus transportation from their homes to work and back. The Executive Committee of the Tirana District Council was instructed to allocate 168 apartments for the Valias miners from the stock of apartments planned for 1991.

4. Under the conditions that have been created, any demands for further immediate wage increases in sectors of the economy and culture are beyond the state's economic resources and would lead to inflationary consequences directly affecting the people's living standards. As a result, the issue will be solved only within the framework of the full study that has been undertaken by the special state commission for a review of the entire prices and wages system. The Council of Ministers set this commission the task of shortening its schedule for submitting its study.

5. To normalize the situation in the Valias mine, the Council of Ministers entrusted the government group created for this purpose to continue its dialogue with the workers who have stopped work and to explain to them that the aforementioned measures and a recommencement of work are the only possible solutions which are in the economic interests of the working people themselves. A recommencement of work is especially necessary to normalize work in enterprises and other institutions in the capital which are waiting for their contracted supplies of coal from this mine, including nurseries, kindergartens, hospitals, dormitories etc.

The Council of Ministers decided that the measures taken do not justify a work stoppage, and the continuation of this stoppage would involve damaging technical and economic consequences that would lead to the mine's closure and to the workers being fired.

In this case, there would be no justification for the enforcement of this state enterprise's obligation under the legal dispositions to pay 80 percent of wages.

The Council of Ministers called on the working people of the mine, in cooperation with the government group, to commit themselves to finding and implementing the most effective way of administering the mine, in accordance with the rights given to them by law and the demands of the new economic mechanism.

6. The Council of Ministers calls on all parties and other political and social organizations to make their commitment and contribution to stabilizing the economic and social situation. For this purpose, a government group composed of Comrades Besnik Bekteshi, Bujar Kolaneci, and Qemal Disha was entrusted with the task

of contacting and conducting dialogue with representatives of the four political parties recognized by law and the Trade Unions, the Democratic Front, the youth organization, etc., to gain support for the realistic solutions of the problems at which the aforementioned measures aim.

The Council of Ministers called on the miners and all working people of the country [passage indistinct] as a necessary condition for the uninterrupted continuation of the processes of the democratization of the country's entire life, and a tightening of ties of cooperation with the world.

Government, Opposition Hold Meeting

AU1501213391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The government group formed to solve the problem created at the Valias mine held separate meetings today with representatives of political parties and social organizations. Besnik Bekteshi, chairman of the group and minister of industry, mines, and energy, informed these representatives about the serious situation at the mine in recent days and the measures taken by the Council of Ministers at its special meeting about this problem, which cannot be considered in isolation from the serious economic situation through which we are passing. In the name of the government, he stressed, I ask that we exchange views on the road of dialogue, so we may achieve the most realistic solutions for solving this problem, which is important not only for the miners but for the entire people. Work stoppages have caused worry and additional difficulties in overcoming the critical situation in the economy.

In the case of the Valias mine, at each moment there is a risk of [word indistinct], which would lead to the closure of the mine. Any failure to accept the solutions offered to the miners by the government group would lead to economic destabilization, would have effects on a national scale, and could be followed by social tensions and political destabilization. There is, therefore, a need for a commitment and consensus of all political forces to explain to people realistic ways of solving the problems.

Abdyl Backa, representative of the Albanian Workers Party, said, among other things, that after acquainting himself with the miners' demands and the contents of the communique from the government's meeting today, he called on the working people of the Valias mine to make their contribution to normalizing the situation which has been created, stressing unity and work as the two decisive factors at the present time. Let us not forget, he stressed, that nurseries, kindergartens, hospitals, and our families are waiting for coal, and that no one can demand hasty economic solutions at the expense of the interests of other working people, consumers, and the people as a whole. Any wage increase unsupported by production will lead to rising prices and inflation for everybody.

Gramoz Pashko, representative of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Democratic Party, after thanking the government for its appreciation of the possibility of this party contributing to solving the problem, said among other things that we do not seek to destabilize the situation. We will, therefore, try to explain to the miners and other working people that the decisions of the Council of Ministers are appropriate and that uncontrolled wage increases stoke inflation.

Gafur Muca, representative of the Republican Party, said, among other things, that we must all do more to convince workers not to close down their own workplaces. Through our activists, we will make it clear to workers that under such conditions the state cannot give more. With their demands, they have passed from democracy to anarchy.

Namik Hoti, representative of the Ecology Party, said among other things that the Albanian people have a tradition of understanding. We are for discussion between the government and workers, like that now taking place. We must go and persuade the miners to end their work stoppage, identifying those that are encouraging them. We call on all parties to work to solve this issue.

Those taking part in the discussion appreciated the realistic stand of the government, and said that the solution of similar demands which have been or could be raised cannot be achieved unless they are considered as a whole by the government commission for the full review of the prices and wages system.

Independence of Youth Organization Asserted

AU1501163391 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "On the Question of the Independence of the Albanian Union of Working Youth"]

[Text] In the new phase of political relations on which we have embarked, one of the most frequently discussed subjects among us is the independence of the mass organizations, including the youth organization. Recognizing new realities, the national conference of the Albanian Union of Working Youth [BRPSh] explicitly stated: "At this historic moment, the BRPSh emerges as an independent social organization. As such, the BRPSh is not an instrument or a transmission belt of any existing political force or of any which may be created in the framework of political pluralism." The BRPSh's electoral program, which is not merely an electoral program but a platform of work until the next congress, also speaks out clearly about this, laying down concrete guidelines for our youth organization's work. The BRPSh's national conference took such a step with the aim of strengthening the youth organization and preventing its disintegration, and also to turn our organization into a powerful factor of national unity. The BRPSh is an organization whose platform includes what unites Albanian young people: lofty national interests, the

homeland's freedom and independence, the strengthening of democracy and the specific interests of young people as an age group, which only it can meet. The BRpSh has stated that it respects everyone's political allegiances, convictions, and beliefs. In this sense, young men and women—whether they are members of the Albanian Workers Party [PLA], the Democratic Party [PDSh], the Ecology Party, or other parties which may be created—join the BRPSh's ranks as young people with the interests of their age group and bearing in mind the lofty interests of the nation, which are and must be a common denominator for all political forces in Albania.

What has been noticed in practice? First, youth forums, organizations, and leaders have not understood this new position properly. Inertia, a tendency to patronize, and, not uncommonly, sectarianism persist among them. Failing to recognize new political realities, youth leaders in some districts appear at the rallies of one party or another and speak "in the name of all the district's young people," thus ignoring the political allegiances of our organization's members.

Moreover, one hears voices claiming that nothing has changed in the positions of the mass organizations, and that they are "the PLA divided into five." Unfortunately, people who take this view do so on the basis of prejudice, not reality. Reading carefully the decisions of the national conference and the declarations issued to young people, one finds it explicitly emphasized that the BRPSh is not an instrument of the PLA, the PDSh, or any other political force which may be created. We would ask those who make judgments on the basis of old cliches and prejudices to assess the BRPSh not according to the statements of others, but those of the BRPSh itself. The BRPSh is not a dependency, as some try to portray it; more precisely, it is dependent only on the freedom, independence, and democratic spirit of the Albanian people and on the truth.

The BRPSh's independence does not mean that it is self-enclosed. The BRPSh will support in the arena of political struggle the force which it sees as the most progressive and which responds best to the lofty interests of the homeland and the BRPSh's specific interests. This position was also clearly expressed and set out at our national conference. For the sake of these sublime interests, young people enter dialogue and an alliance with all the country's political forces and with other independent organizations. Young people are also sensitive to the standpoints of other political forces toward them. It is clear that those political forces which adopt and act on programs which bear young people in mind have taken an important step in young people's direction.

It is an urgent task for our youth forums to turn back to the documents and decisions of our national conference and its electoral program, and to struggle to act on them to the letter. Extreme attitudes are fraught with dangerous repercussions. The electoral campaign must not be conceived merely as the presentation of candidates, but first as an assertion of our position and program.

PDSh Holds Tirana Rally; Democracy Viewed

AU1601215191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The Tirana section of the Democratic Party [PDSh] organized a rally of solidarity this afternoon in the square in front of the Qemal Stafa National Stadium in the capital, attended by intellectuals from our cultural, artistic, and scientific institutions.

The rally was opened by Mark (?Topalaj), director at the New Albania Film Studio, who said, among other things, that the days through which we are passing are historic, and have set Albania on the highway of democracy and the development of political pluralism. The PDSh, he continued, was born as a spiritual product of the Albanian people's desire for social progress. He called for people to advance on this road of national conciliation, to move toward Europe without bloodshed.

The radio and television producer Rexhep Aliaj then spoke and said, among other things, that the Albanian people are now committed to democratic processes. In this context, writers and artists must pay attention to these developments, to give the people artistic works which nourish their truly democratic and progressive spirit.

The radio and television producer Mevlan (?Shani), who then spoke, said that we need wisdom and maturity now more than ever—especially among our young people, who are the support of the democratic processes in our country—to make Albania like the whole of Europe within as short a time as possible.

Other intellectuals also spoke at this rally, including the lecturer at the Higher Institute of Arts [name indistinct], and the writers [two names indistinct] who, after stressing the need for a struggle against bureaucracy and a free press, also pointed out the need to avoid [words indistinct] revenge and rancor.

They asked for the postponement of the 10 February elections, a revision of the electoral law, and the release of all political prisoners. The rally was closed by Azem Hajdari, member of the PDSh Initiating Commission. Those present at the meeting held placards inscribed: Freedom, democracy; We, like all Europe, love Albania; Long live democratic Albania; etc.

People's Assembly Official Interviewed on Pardons

AU1501180391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Kujtim Puto, director of the Legal Directorate in the apparatus of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, by Musa Ulqini; place and date not given: "Another Sign of the Continuity of Democratic Processes"]

[Text] [Ulqini] The recent decree on pardons is a result of the democratic changes in the country's entire life, especially in legislation. Can you tell us something more specific about it?

[Puto] Decrees on pardons are measures of a political and legal nature, and as such are both influenced by events in society and play their own role in the course of these events. Since the changes in the Penal Code made on 7 May 1990—specifically those replacing the crime of flight with that of crossing the border illegally, and retaining the crime of agitation and propaganda in the Code only when it relates to aims to overthrow the state and social order established in the Constitution—the Presidium of the People's Assembly has, at various meetings, pardoned 393 people sentenced for flight and for agitation and propaganda. The law does not operate retroactively in these cases. These pardons were issued between June 1990 and 5 January 1991, and it is anticipated that about 170 people sentenced for political offenses will be pardoned before the end of this month. In this way, on the threshold of the elections, there will be no more prisoners of this kind. Following the legislative changes, there is no reason for Albanian citizens to claim the status of political refugees in other countries.

[Ulqini] The policy to grant pardons is in the tradition of our country's law. In the last decade alone, we can mention several extensive pardons, in addition to specific ones. Is the recent decree a continuation of this democratic tradition or the result of the pressures of certain forces?

[Puto] Under Article 77 of the Constitution, the right to grant a pardon is the prerogative of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which it has continually exercised at almost all its meetings. Through it, the head of state (the Presidium of the People's Assembly), has expressed its humanism toward citizens who have committed crimes or penal misdemeanors. On this basis, the Presidium's decrees have pardoned those who have been punished with imprisonment or obliged to pay compensation, always on the basis of court decisions. It has also spared, as occasion has demanded, the lives of those condemned to death. The purpose of pardons has been to spare those who have repented and have shown this in their behavior and work from serving their sentences further. The aim has also been to exert an influence on the people's unity. Some of these pardons have therefore been announced on the threshold of major political events, such as the extensive pardons of 28 November 1982, on the 70th anniversary of national independence; of 6 January 1986, on the 40th anniversary of the declaration of the republic; and of 13 November 1989, on the 45th anniversary of the homeland's liberation. The decree pardoning 202 people sentenced for crimes against the state is of a similar kind, and comes into effect on 10 January 1991, on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic. Thus, the most recent pardon is not a result of pressure of any kind, but, as is evident from what I have said, is in the tradition of our state, and is in the logic of the continuity of democratic processes.

[Ulqini] The decrees on pardons have been welcomed positively by the public. What is your view about the rights and duties of state organs, social organizations, and citizens for respecting the laws in this area?

[Puto] The rights and duties of state organs and social organizations in connection with pardons are laid down in Law No. 6299 of the People's Assembly, "On Pardons," dated 27 March 1981. This law states that both state organs and social organizations (including political parties), on their own initiative or at the request of the prisoner or members of his family, have the right to submit requests for pardon to the Presidium of the People's Assembly. These applications are discussed at meetings of the relevant collectives, which decide proposals and send them to the Presidium of the People's Assembly. Under the law, the Presidium is obliged to consider every proposal and to declare whether it accepts it or not, when, of course, it is received by the Presidium. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Procurator General, and organizations of the Albanian Workers Party and the Democratic Front have made proposals to the Presidium of the People's Assembly for the pardon of all political prisoners since May 1989.

Sentences and pardons aim to educate those convicted, but have a state and social as well as a personal purpose. Because of this, all state organs and social organizations should follow the process of the reeducation of those convicted. Particular care should be shown in preventing those crimes which seriously violate national and social interests, such as diversion, economic sabotage, terrorism, espionage, and the premeditated destruction of state property, which remain penally punishable, as in all other countries. We presently have about 170 people serving sentences for such crimes.

Wage, Price Official Interviewed on New Reforms

AU1601125691 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with Bujar Kolaneci, chairman of the State Prices and Wages Commission, by Mehdi Koxhaj; place and date not given: "Simultaneous Improvements to Prices and Wages"]

[Text] [Koxhaj] Our readers are now aware of the creation of the State Prices and Wages Commission. Could you tell us something about its aims and tasks?

[Kolaneci] Carrying out a comprehensive study of the problems of prices and wages and, as a result, alleviating them, is an integral part of the economic reform which has been undertaken in our country and which is quickly assuming all its features.

The refinement of the pricing system, which is a demand of the new economic mechanism, aims to bring prices closer to the value of goods and services. In this way, fuller opportunities will be created for every enterprise to make the profit it needs to finance itself and to better

ensure its workers' share of the profits. Seen in this way, refining the pricing system gives wider scope to the operation of the laws of the market. Correctly used, the levers of prices and wages are important factors in encouraging higher and more effective production.

The expansion of relations abroad through trade, foreign investments, joint enterprises, the development of tourism, etc., is another reason confronting us with the need to review prices to protect the country's economy.

Price changes will inevitably be accompanied by a review of wage increases with a view to maintain consumption and the people's living standards, as well as making improvements for some social groups and eliminating some anomalies which exist today in the wages of some categories of workers.

[Koxhaj] Concern has spread among some people that these measures will devalue citizens' deposits in savings accounts. Is this true?

[Kolaneci] The task with which the commission is entrusted may be carried out in different ways and to different extents. This will oblige us to construct different variants, so we may then decide which is the best and most suitable. One thing should be clear to everyone: Every variant will be based on the idea of not only maintaining working people's interests, but creating conditions for raising living standards faster. It is hard for me to give details now, because we are at the stage of organizing our work; however, I can assure you that the study and the decisions that will be made on its basis will not have a negative effect on either pensioners or students, whose pensions and grants will rise alongside wages. Similarly, working people with savings accounts will not be harmed in the slightest; the amount of their savings will be increased by the state to the level of the real effect of the rise in prices and wages. The stories in circulation claiming that prices or wages will have a zero or digit added to them are not at all true. This is an economic reform, not a mechanical ploy. There is no basis for the worry that has spread; it has been inflated by either ill-informed and unqualified or malevolent people. I can add that the purpose of the commission's work will be to find the most suitable ways of protecting the interests of working people with lower incomes and social assistance in general.

[Koxhaj] When is this study expected to end?

[Kolaneci] It is an extremely voluminous and complex study that involves the entire economy. We will work intensively with the aim of completing it within the first half of this year. In addition to the commission, completing the study will involve a large number of specialists in various fields, including sociologists, from the base to the ministries. The study will also be subjected to qualified criticism before it is submitted to the government.

Zhelyu Zhelev Interviewed on Gulf Crisis

PM1501140691 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 12 Jan 91 p 1

[Karim Khayyat report on "exclusive" interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev; place and date not given]

[Text] Sofia—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev has condemned the Iraqi regime's position in refusing to withraw from Kuwait and its persistent undermining of all Arab and international endeavors and initiatives to resolve the crisis and restore the legitimate Kuwaiti government under His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, the country's amir.

In an interview with SAWT AL-KUWAYT the Bulgarian president said that Iraq is now completely isolated and faces the world's opposition because of its refusal to respond to the international resolutions, its recourse to aggression, and its threat to world peace.

Regarding Iraq's call for withdrawal from Kuwait to be linked to the solution of the Palestinian issue, President Zhelev said that his country has supported, and still supports the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to establish their own independent state. It also condemns the Israeli occupation of Arab territory and its practices against the Arab people. However, it believes that it is both unwise and immoral for an Arab state to occupy another Arab state, and for a third party to demand an end to its occupation...because one aggression can by no means be eliminated by committing another aggression.

The Bulgarian president called on Iraq and its political leadership to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait and to sit down at the negotiating table to resolve the outstanding problems between the two countrys' through a peaceful and constructive dialogue.

Vice President Semerdzhiev on Gulf, Lithuania

AU1501210091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report on interview with Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev by unidentified reporter on 15 January; place not given]

[Text] Two main questions were put to the vice president concerning the crisis in the Persian Gulf and the political situation in the Baltic republics.

In response to the first question, Atanas Semerdzhiev stated that the decision adopted by the Grand National Assembly concerning the formation of a military group to take part in the multinational forces in the Persian Gulf has been fulfilled. The group is made up of a medical and first aid unit, a chemical warfare defense detachment, and small backup group to provide services. The problem lies, explained the vice president, in the fact that, according to the UN Charter, a given state may take part in multinational forces only if an invitation is received from the interested parties.

In connection with the second question, concerning the situation in the Baltic republics, Vice President Semerdzhiev said that now, when the Warsaw Pact no longer exists in practice, and Bulgaria is opening up to the West and the world, we should not forget our old friends, the peoples of the Soviet Union, who, as history has shown, have always helped us in times of need.

'Measures' Taken To Protect Nationals in Gulf

AU1501193291 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—In connection with the danger of military operations in the Near East and in the Gulf urgent measures have been taken to guarantee the life and security of Bulgarian citizens in the area, the National Coordinating Staff announced. Most Bulgarians have been evacuated from the countries threatened by the possible military conflict.

There are 14 Bulgarians left in Iraq, 260 in Syria, 10 in Jordan, 36 in Lebanon, 23 in the United Arab Emirates, 78 in Yemen, 480 in Iran, 130 in Turkey and 77 in Israel.

Bulgarian citizens are provided with the necessary means of anti-gas protection, food, medicines and fuel. If necessary, and if conditions allow it, Bulgarian citizens will be evacuated by car.

The National Coordinating Staff will continue the preparations for additional measures in the country and abroad in case of military conflict.

'No Mobilization' for Gulf Required

AU1501215591 Sofia BTA in English 2053 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Bulgaria is 1,500 kilometers away from the Gulf, so there is no mobilization for a possible military conflict, the TV central news programme "Po Sveta i u Nas" ("Around the World and at Home") reported this evening.

Some of the reserves have been called up but it is not under a plan endorsed by the Council of Ministers.

For 10 days now a National Coordinating Staff has been acting in connection with the Gulf Crisis. It is headed by the vice president of the country, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev.

According to the Civil Defence Staff, Bulgaria is not threatened by a possible nuclear conflict, the television announced this evening. Short interviews showed that few Bulgarians know how to act in case of chemical or bacteriological attack.

BSP Legislative Group on Lithuanian Situation

AU1501195991 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Today the leaders of the Socialist Party [BSP] and its parliamentary group expressed their concern and uneasiness about the events in Lithuania. At a press conference they distanced themselves from the use of military force as means of consolidating democracy. They laid particular stress on the necessity to solve the problems by political means.

When journalists said that tomorrow the opposition may put the question of stepping out of the Warsaw Pact in parliament, the Socialist leaders answered that emotions are not the best adviser in politics. They pointed out that with the lack of a uniform concept on national security and with the existence of the view (the West included) that the bloc strategy is out-of-date, it is harmful to pursue political effects.

Another subject which was brought up was the subscription started in parliament for Bulgaria's integration with NATO. According to the Socialists NATO "doesn't want us."

The vice president of the Socialist Party Dimitur Yonchev is dissatisfied with the pace of investigating the guilt and the culprits for the present state of the country. Regardless of this he made it clear that the ex-dictator Todor Zhivkov will soon be brought to court as well as the culprits of the economic catastrophe, the grave ecological conditions and the ethnic problem. The Army Prosecutor's office will also deal with the problems concerning the forcible change of ethnic Turks' names, militaries being involved in it as well.

It was also announced that in connection with the investigation of the fire in the party headquarters in Sofia about 700 witnesses have already been questioned. What impressed the Socialist leaders most was that there are people brought to book for incendiarism and not for inducement.

Zhelev: USSR Relations Depend on Situation

AU1501183791 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, January 15 (BTA)—In an interview given to a TASS correspondent which has been published in the EKHO PLANETY, Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev commented on the prospects of the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian president considers that their development will depend to a great degree on the situation in the USSR. Bulgaria's further development is clear on the whole. The country is dismantling totalitarianism and making its progress towards parliamentary democracy and market economy. In Dr. Zhelev's opinion it is not clear yet what the state structure of the Soviet Union will be. If its members become independent states, then Bulgaria will have to sign separate contracts with Russia, the Ukraine and the other republics. Expressing his own personal view, President Zhelyu Zhelev said that no matter what the developments in the USSR might be, the internal economic ties in that country would be still of great importance, because more or less a well developed common market and a system of mutual exchange of raw materials between the republics function there. The economic community will be preserved by all means. They are all tightly bound together and nobody can break away. We will have to take into account the economic realities, Dr. Zhelev underlined.

SDS MP's Speak at Anti-Soviet Rally

AU1501195891 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—This evening several hundreds of Bulgarians gathered in front of the Soviet Army Monument in the centre of Sofia to condemn the Soviet aggression against Lithuania. They raised anti-communist and anti-Soviet slogans.

One of the speakers defined it as a rally of the people disappointed in the perestroika and Gorbachev.

We should shake any Sovietism off and learn to say Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Russia again, the spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], Mikhail Nedelchev, stated. Edvin Sugarev, MP [member of parliament] of the opposition, drew a parallel between the Soviet president and Saddam Husayn. Solomon Pasi, MP of the Green Party, said that the Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation agreement should be torn to pieces and that Bulgarian volunteers should be sent to Lithuania.

In a special resolution passed by the rally it is insisted that the Bulgarian Parliament and Government should take a stand on the matter.

The Podkrepa Labour Confederation is especially insistent as to the government's reaction. Its vice president Oleg Chulev said this evening that Podkrepa might revise the agreement concluded with the government.

Today the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions also came out with a declaration on the matter. The Green Party (member of the UDF) calls for the "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Lithuania". The Democratic Party (member of the UDF) came out with its own declaration too.

Foreign Trade Minister Says $2 Billion Needed

AU1501145491 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—This year Bulgaria would need foreign credits totalling some two billion dollars, the drop in her production being about 10 to 11 percent, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, said in an interview brought out by today's TRUD. In the last four or five years Bulgaria's foreign debt have been growing by 1-1.5 billion dollars per year.

The minister of foreign economic relations pointed out that the above amount includes part of the interest on the foreign debt already accrued. Money for compensating the loss ensuing from the new petrol prices, for the development of agriculture, tourism and the infrastructure are also envisaged.

According to Minister Paparizov the deficit in Bulgaria's convertible currency foreign trade was increased by about 660 million dollars last year. By the time the moratorium on the payment of the foreign debt was imposed in March 1990, the deficit had reached 520 million dollars. The country has managed to live through the following months almost counterbalancing the import with its exports as a result of which its trade dropped by about 30 percent, but the comparison with the 10-percent drop of production in the country gives ground for hopes, the minister of foreign economic affairs said.

In 1990 Bulgaria's trade with the East European countries also decreased the deficit of 700-800 million transferable rubles was accrued mainly from the drop in trade with Poland and the former GDR, Mr. Atanas Paparizov pointed out. Estimations of last year's balance show a surplus of 300-350 million rubles in favor of Bulgaria in her trade with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Paparizov who is a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, stated that he accepts without any reserve the partnership of the other ministers in the economic block of the government (who are members of the Union of Democratic Forces). In his opinion it is only the present government that can start the reform at this stage.

Pushkarov, Spirov Propose 'Minimum' Food Imports

AU1501214691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The meeting of the Council of Ministers which opened this morning has ended. Ministers Pushkarov and Spirov, who took part in the meeting, proposed that the government should provide foreign currency for minimum imports of sugar, olive oil, rice, and pulses. This proposal was made just before the end of the meeting.

Soviet Envoy, Popov Discuss Oil, Paper Imports

AU1501214791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Prime Minister Dimitur Popov received today Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria. They held a discussion concerning smooth deliveries of petroleum and paper from the Soviet Union.

Dimitrov Says SDS Ministers 'Vulnerable'

AU1501164091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ventsislav Dimitrov, Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, member of the Grand National Assembly, by Sonya Stoyanova; place and date not given: "It Is Important To Begin Reforms"]

[Excerpts] [Stoyanova] Mr. Dimitrov, let us begin with the fateful issue for all Bulgarians—will the price of basic consumer goods increase? The participation of the economists of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in the new government is related to introducing a market economy and liberalizing all prices.

[Dimitrov] Andrey Lukanov's heritage is especially grave. During one year he headed two governments that demonstrated criminal idleness and wasted precious time while refraining from beginning the economic reforms. This was his basic mistake.

The fact that he constantly spoke about increasing prices was another mistake. At the end of the year his government proposed and the parliament adopted a budget based on prices which should have increased; however, he did not dare to do this.

Now the prices that are not controlled by the government are increasing. This is caused by the fact that there is precious little goods in the market and this influences the free prices. The goods, whose prices are controlled by the government (including basic foodstuffs), disappeared from the stores. On the one hand the customers tend to overstock, while on the other hand producers refrain from marketing goods, because they expect the increase of the purchase price. The price increase is inevitable under such conditions. This is the basic reason for speculation which widely spreads. As long as the reasons for speculation are not eliminated, it will continue to exist.

I think that prices will be fully liberalized after five to six months, i.e. only after a thorough preparation. The prices that are centrally controlled will inevitably increase. This will happen, however, only after the program of the new government is adopted.

[Stoyanova] What do you expect from the SDS economic experts who joined the new government?

[Dimitrov] The basic task of Ivan Kostov and Ivan Pushkarov is to begin the change of the system. This is the essence of their participation in Mr. Popov's government. Reform could begin before the adoption of the basic economic laws. The important thing is to allow our talented economists to develop their concept and begin to implement it, i.e.—to begin the construction of the new economy. Every normal economist would do this. Lukanov's government should have done this.

It is true that the reform will be painful. Is it not painful to stay in line for six hours while the reform has not yet

begun? We must cope with the decrease of the standard of living. I think, however, that the standard of living will decrease more "on paper" than in real life. This is because one cannot correctly determine the standard of living when prices are low and there are no goods. [passage omitted]

[Stoyanova] Are the SDS representatives in the government vulnerable?

[Dimitrov] Of course they are! First of all because the ministries they head are composed of the same apparatus members, and they could use different methods to foil the ministers' instructions.

Second, they did not have enough time to orient themselves, and do not have sufficient experience. On the other hand, they do not use obsolete bureaucratic patterns of thinking and can use unconventional solutions of the problems.

Our representatives also are burdened by the grave heritage, i.e., the huge administrative structures. A great part of their subordinates could rebel against them if a decision is adopted to fire people.

They also are vulnerable because of the budget they inherited and its deficit. [passage omitted]

From a political point of view the SDS representatives in the government are in the minority and could be "smothered" by the members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. This is why I proposed Ivan Kostov as deputy prime minister in charge of changing the system, as well as subjecting to him all ministries with economic functions. [passage omitted]

SDS Coordinating Council Meeting Reported

AU1501160691 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 p 1

[Plamen Kamenov article: "SDS Faces Test"]

[Text] The headline should not surprise the readers. It must be viewed against the background of the recent events in the democratic opposition, the continuing supremacy of the party which ruined the country, the hunger and misery that threaten almost everybody, and the forthcoming municipal and parliamentary elections. It is not the headline that is illogical, but rather the fact that while aware of the Bolshevik firmness of the enemy, certain parties and organizations within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] succumbed to at least two negative factors: the tendency to excessively defend their own interests, as well as the tendency to be mislead by political moves, conceived in a building topped until recently by the shiny red star....

A record number of participants took part in the 7 January meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council. People attended who usually did not take part in the meetings. Among them—Dimitur Ludzhev, Ivan Kostov, and Milan Drenchev. Dr. Petur Dertliev was absent, as was Chairman Filip Dimitrov, who was on a working visit in Khaskovo. The meeting was chaired by Petko Simeonov, deputy chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council.

The main theme of the debate was the attitude toward the government, a topic which generated unfortunate publicity after the publication of the Dertliev-Pushkarov conflict. Minister Ivan Kostov clarified that the issue of SDS confidence in its own representatives in the government is an issue of great importance, especially at the present specific political moment when it is necessary to adopt unpleasant but inadvertent economic measures. We must act decisively. Bulgaria must no longer hop along like a lame dog, the minister said in conclusion.

Demonstrating a total support for the "blue" ministers in their difficult task was the main topic of the ensuing statements of representatives of parties and organizations within the SDS. They pointed out that it is necessary to immediately begin the economic reform, before the country finally collapses in the precipice, diligently prepared by the Bulgarian Communist (Socialist) Party for 46 years. Mikhail Nedelchev, SDS spokesman, was authorized to summarize the general opinion and present it at the briefing for journalists.

While the issue of the threat to SDS unity was not fully exhausted, the participants had to direct their attention to another subject—the attitude toward the monarchists in general, and toward the personality of Simeon II in particular. Several different opinions were voiced, but finally the participants agreed on the formula proposed by Petko Simeonov: The SDS Coordinating Council considers the construction of democracy in Bulgaria as its strategic goal. This goal requires the united efforts of both republicans and monarchists. As far as the form of the state system is concerned, the Grand National Assembly, which prepares the new Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, will have its say on this matter."

The report on the SDS property was read at the end of the meeting.

Beron Wants SDS Parliamentary Leadership Role

AU1501155491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 p 1

[Boris Gergov report]

[Text] Petur Beron, the former leader of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], is a candidate for the vacant post of leader, after handing in his resignation in December. Petur Beron put forward his own candidature, stated Mikhail Nedelchev at the SDS news conference held in Sofia on 7 January. At its meeting today [8 January], the SDS parliamentary group will have to choose between Petur Beron, Stoyan Ganev, Stefan Savov, and Aleksandur Yordanov.

"The Pushkarov affair is a result of a lack of political ethics," Mr. Bakalov stated at the news conference on

behalf of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP]. He recommended to the journalists that they should not bother themselves with the BSDP. Before saying this, Mr. Bakalov appealed to Mr. Pushkarov to show more common sense and declare that he accepts the decision of the conference in Shumen. He stated that a conflict between younger and older members indeed existed within the BSDP leadership. "We are a leadership," said Mr. Bakalov, "which passes through the center but also has an extreme left and an extreme right wing."

At its meeting on 7 December the SDS Coordinating Council decided to offer full support to the government, to Ministers Ivan Kostov and Ivan Pushkarov, and to Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Petur Dertliev was not present when the Coordinating Council reached this decision.

To a question on whether new formations would be set up within the SDS, Stoyan Ganev replied that for the moment no coalition exists between the United Democratic Center, the Radical Democratic party, and the Alternative Socialist Party. In principle, however, it is necessary to generate new ideas within the SDS and to attract new personalities, he said.

On 7 December the SDS Coordinating Council discussed the form of Bulgaria's government in the future, whether it should be a republic or a monarchy. No decision was made, but the conclusion was reached that the combined efforts of the republicans and democrats were needed in order to develop democracy, but that the form of government should be decided by the Grand National Assembly.

Regarding the scandal in the "Democratic Front" Public Citizens' Organization, Mikhail Nedelchev announced that the SDS Coordinating Council had decided that the Parliamentary Ethics Commission should examine the affair. Svetlana Spasova, the secretary of the front, said: "A group of citizens gathered together and overthrew the organization's leadership."

Zhelev Speaks Against Restoring Monarchy

AU1501155191 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 p 1

[Vanyo Stoilov report]

[Text] Khaskovo and Dimitrovgrad, 7 Jan—The adoption of the land law is one of the most immediate problems that we have to resolve, President Zhelyu Zhelev stated today at a meeting with the members of the provisional oblast and municipal administrations and leaders of the political forces in Khaskovo Oblast.

According to the head of state, the main provisions in the law must be restoring the land to its former owners and preventing the possibility of sales of land to foreign states or citizens, and he predicts that the right of owners to lease out land will be recognized.

The president spoke out firmly against those who have suddenly decided that the time had nearly come to restore the monarchy in Bulgaria. In connection with the prayer meeting held on 6 January in Sofia's 9 September Square, the president warned that no one should imagine that actions can be undertaken that encroach upon the prestige of the official state power, and predicted that the return of the monarchy to Bulgaria would lead to a new national disaster and further divisions among the people.

Bulgaria will not travel toward Europe through Turkey and will take no steps that threaten its sovereignty, the president declared. A just settlement of interethnic relations, however, is necessary. If priority is given to solving these problems in an atmosphere of civil peace, this will mean that our train to Europe will be the "Orient Express."

In Dimitrovgrad, the members of the provisional municipal administration and the leaders of 17 enterprises responsible for pollution in the oblast revealed to the president a "cocktail" of local ecological problems. For example, 1.5 billion dollars are needed to normalize the ecological situation in the "Maritsa-East" region alone. The president did not deny that the entire Council of Ministers could hardly provide answers to all the issues, but assumed a commitment to seek solutions to them.

Christian Parties: SDS Hiding Marxist Origins

AU1501155091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 p 2

[Text] The formation of a "Christian-Democratic Community" within the framework of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], which was announced by Father Khristofor Subev, is a provocation against the extraparliamentary forces who profess Christian and democratic ideas, states a document issued by the Federation of Christian Parties and Movements in Bulgaria. In the federation's view, the SDS is striving to conceal its Marxist essence, forgetting its earlier declarations that the registration of parties on a religious basis is not legitimate.

According to the federation, this is a speculative attempt by the parliamentary opposition to "dress itself up" with the Christian values which it conspicuously lacks, and to cover up its official origins as an offspring of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Fatherland Party Helps Bessarabian Bulgarians

AU1501184591 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The Fatherland Party of Labour (FPL) has provided 550 Bessarabian Bulgarian families with conditions for living and working in Bulgaria. They are expecting the inter-governmental agreement to allow their temporary stay and work here.

This was announced by Mr. Mincho Minchev of the FPL at a press conference today. He explained that the close

contacts with Bessarabian Bulgarians are part of the party's policy of uniting this part of the nation with the fatherland.

According to Mr. Minchev, by doing this the party responds to the aspiration of many Bessarabian Bulgarians to come to know Bulgaria. He said that the possible candidates will be provided with good living standards and with opportunities for agricultural work in the region of Khaskovo in south-east Bulgaria.

In response to a question the leader of the FPL Mr. Ruen Popov called the idea for creating a Black Sea economic zone irrelevant. "We must promote the mutually beneficial bilateral economic cooperation in the Balkans instead of creating useless new structures," he said.

So far the FPL has 4,600 registered members. Its representative in parliament is the party's vice president Mr. Dimitur Arnaudov. Its policy statements proclaim "liberal approach to economy and conservative approach to politics aimed at displaying the vital Bulgarian tradition and uniting it with the European processes."

It was announced that the FPL has joined the agreement of the parliamentary political forces. The party appealed to all competent authorities "not to take any partial decisions on the national and the ethnic issue which will only result in social destabilization and tension but to concentrate on the implementation of the agreement between the political forces."

Answering a question Mr. Popov said that the optional teaching of the Turkish language in some Bulgarian schools is not the most pressing problem for the country at present and suggested that it should be settled by the government after being discussed by the Political Consultative Council with the Presidency.

Today President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev received the leaders of the FPL.

New Business Party Presents Leaders, Program

AU1501184791 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Business Party (BBP), which was founded two days ago, is a modern right-wing party that has set it as its goal to build up a civilized democratic civil society based on free enterprise, the sacred right to private property, economic, intellectual and technological progress and respect for human rights and liberties, BBP Chairman Aleksandur Cherpokov said at today's press conference.

Ideologists and drafters of the program documents of the new party are Ms. Blagodatka Markova, an economist, and Mr. Valentin Kanavrov, a philosopher. They are the authors of the program declaration of the Bulgarian Business Bloc (BBB)—a right-wing party set up on January 10, 1990. They unanimously stated that when the Bulgarian Business Bloc was founded their ideas were distorted, which made it necessary to set up a new party. The platforms, objectives and tasks of the two organizations are similar, but it is too early to say how long they will follow parallel paths.

The founders of the Bulgarian Business Party consider that it cannot be a mass organization, because it defends the interests of a certain social stratum. They declare they do not stand for elitism, but on the other hand they reject populism. According to the BBP's present statute property qualifications are not required for admittance to membership in the party.

The BBP will seek to get in parliament and take part in drafting the country's legislation, but its founders do not believe they will be able to overcome the 4-percent barrier and win a seat in parliament.

One month ago the Union of Entrepreneurs (a union of private producers) inspired the foundation of the BBB, but later on the former distanced itself from the latter, explaining the BBB statute was not to its liking. Mr. Mollov, chairman of the Union of Entrepreneurs, today told a BTA reporter that he was present at the constituent assembly of the BBP and that the documents adopted are in line with the interests of the union and it would give its support to the new party.

Internal Affairs Minister on Political Tensions

AU1501144591 Sofia ANTENTI in Bulgarian No. 2, 9 Jan p 3

[Interview with Khristo Danov, minister of internal affairs, by Evgeni Mikhaylov; place and date not given: "There Is No Democracy Without Law and Order"]

[Excerpts] [Mikhaylov] Mr. Danov, you are the first minister in several decades who is not affiliated with any political party and who has been appointed to this responsible post that has recently evoked very heated discussions and controversies. You are the member of a government that embodies the people's hopes and the spirit of transition. What are your ideas and views on the consolidation and improvement of the law and order services' social status as a reliable nationwide system guaranteeing public order and security?

[Danov] It is an honorable task for me to assume this really responsible post in a government which we all ardently wish to see as a government of hope. This means that it is our task to halt the economic, political, and moral crisis, to establish the foundations of a democratic, rule-of-law, and European style state, and to create a dignified, new image of Bulgaria in the eyes of the world. I hope that the heated debates related to the Ministry of Internal Affairs will gradually subside, so that the ministry's organs may play a stabilizing role in our state and public administration and may contribute to the consolidation of constructive relations among all political forces for the sake of our national and public interests, to the benefit of the people in our long-suffering country. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylov] Throughout the recent weeks and months the situation in our country has been very tense and characterized by extreme polarization. Do you have any misgivings about the possibility of further escalating tension, of emerging conflict situations, and of various forms of pressure over the government coming from the street and even from other places?

[Danov] This is a complicated and multifaceted problem. After the political tensions have fluctuated so much for nearly a year, never really easing, we cannot expect a sudden improvement. Nevertheless, I am optimistic. I believe in the Bulgarian citizens' common sense. The long years of suffering, the mistakes, shortcomings, and abuses should serve as a lesson rather than as a source of new mistakes. I am convinced that the election of our government, which we all defined as a government of hope, marked the beginning of a phase of constructive understanding for the sake of our national and people's interests. Nevertheless, there can be no question of peace. The influence of economic and social factors is yet to cause new conflicts. The important thing is that they should not be used for political manipulations. The local elections and the forthcoming parliamentary elections campaign will certainly not be a peaceful time. Conflicts based on political and ethnic issues should be expected. The difficult situation in certain neighboring countries and the Persian Gulf crisis are also playing a role in this respect. The persistent dismantling of the totalitarian system and the slow progress in building a new society also led to a crisis of our state institutions. As long as such institutions are not functioning normally there can be no question of law and order, and everyday life cannot be effeciently organized. This creates a danger of conflicts. It will not be easy for us to guarantee the rule of parliamentary democracy. Not all people in our society understand that democracy has nothing in common with anarchy and disregard for the laws, that law and order guaranteeing equal rights and freedoms for all citizens prevails in all democratic states. Some people in our country are too impatient and expect us to jump unprepared from the totalitarian regime into democracy, so that they may obtain more from society than they are ready to give. These are, however, precisely the mentality and convictions inherited from the past. Liberating people from their delusions will also be a difficult process.

Nevertheless, let us not be overly pessimistic. I remain an optimist despite everything. [passage omitted]

[Mikhaylov] We are living through a period of radical change and renewal. Can you describe the measures you intend to apply to consolidate the professional and social prestige of the Ministry of Internal Affairs employees?

[Danov] I agree with you that this is a period of radical change and renewal. The improvement of our staff's social prestige and professional qualifications should start with our efforts to show the public that we have changed, that the internal affairs organs in 1990 have nothing in common with those of the period prior to 10 November 1989, both regarding their organizational structure and their work. In the second place, the prestige of every institution depends on its effectiveness in serving the comprehensive state and social system. Hence, we must achieve and show new results in protecting national security, guaranteeing social stability and order, and combating crime.

In the third place, we must provide a peaceful and stable working atmosphere for our cadres both in their professional life and in their social status through the new legislation and through our methods of organizing the work of the internal affairs organs. I realize that this is not an easy task considering the economic and financial difficulties of our state, but we shall do our best. I am confident that the government and society will understand us. The experience of all developed countries shows that no efficient and professionally skilled cadres can be recruited for the law and order organs, as long as they have not been guaranteed a high living standard and social prestige. Without hesitating we will rely on all professionals who are still working in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and we will dismiss only those who have violated the Law. We will confidently rely on the cooperation of journalists in connection with consolidating the professional and social prestige of our employees. [passage omitted]

New Justice Minister on Career, Ministry's Role

AU1501101991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Justice Minister Pencho Penev by Evgeni Gavrilov; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Gavrilov] You were minister of justice in the first Lukanov cabinet. Later, you were minister of internal affairs in his second cabinet. Did you learn anything from your experience in that particular ministry that you would like to apply in your present work?

[Penev] My activities in the Ministry of Justice prior to my post at the Ministry of Internal Affairs were a very useful experience. Nevertheless, the experience I acquired during my brief stay at the Ministry of Internal Affairs was no less valuable. Both ministries are part of the country's law enforcement system. In this respect I had quite a great deal to learn and I am prepared to apply this experience in my future work. Naturally, there are a number of specific tasks that could be mentioned, but let us not go into detail.

[Gavrilov] How do you feel as member of a government headed by a judge?

[Penev] The practical experience of a professional judge cultivates several positive qualities, such as patience, the skill of impartially listening to contradictory points of view, objectivity, and a sense of justice. It is quite natural that I welcome Mr. Popov's election to this highly responsible post, considering that he possesses the aforementioned human and professional virtues.

Speaking from a slightly more specific point of view, I am very pleased that Mr. Popov is closely acquainted with the department of justice. Perhaps only a few people know that he is one of the authors of a program on the development of the judicial system that was jointly drafted by the Bulgarian Judges Union and the Ministry of Justice half a year ago.

[Gavrilov] What should be the most reliable guarantees for protecting democracy, according to you?

[Penev] It is our task to provide such guarantees. They consist of establishing a modern government system based on the principles of the division of power. Guarantees for democracy can be provided by releasing the people's creative efforts in all spheres of our economic and social life. This is the method of building a civic society in which the citizens and the state should be real partners.

[Gavrilov] How does the Ministry of Justice participate in the legislative work?

[Penev] Everyone already realizes the necessity of the Ministry of Justice's participation in drafting various legal acts. The Legislative Council, which was incorrectly removed from the Ministry of Justice and transferred to the State Council in the past, has been restored. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] What should the country's laws look like to be not only in conformity with our present state of affairs, but also with future developments?

[Penev] To have a lasting effect, a law should settle specific social relations on a permanent basis. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] There was no minister of justice in the second Lukanov cabinet. Does this not indicate that the role of this ministry is underestimated under the new government system?

[Penev] In establishing his second cabinet, Lukanov was steadily searching for an acceptable formula to form a multi-party government. I think that this was the reason for the lack of a Ministry of Justice in the former cabinet, rather than some kind of underrating. The activities of the first and second Lukanov cabinets do not indicate such underestimation. Moreover, you know that the Ministry of Justice is part of the so-called "priority" ministries.

[Gavrilov] Can you describe the most important problems of the legal reform?

[Penev] The establishment of a uniform judicial system as an independent, third branch of power is the most important problem. The new Constitution must play a particular role in this respect and the same applies to the adoption of a new Law on the Structure of the Judicial System. [passage omitted]

Our country needs a strong and effective judicial system. This system should be homogeneous, rather than scattered. All government-issued legal documents should be subject to the strict control of the justice department. The real independence of judges, public prosecutors, and investigators should be guaranteed. [passage omitted]

[Gavrilov] Under the new economic system the initiating and suspending of every economic activity should be solely subject to the relevant judicial organs. It is a well known fact that the majority of our present law graduates have insufficient training in commercial law. It was removed from the curriculum of our law faculty, being considered as a "bourgeois subject." How can you compensate for dropping this subject from the curriculum?

[Penev] This was really a loss, which we cannot help feeling, but we should not dramatize things. [passage omitted] Along with periodic training courses that the Ministry of Justice has organized we hope to compensate to a certain extent for the aforementioned educational gap. Naturally, lawyers should also try to educate themselves and closely follow the current changes in legislation and in the practice of the Supreme Court.

[Gavrilov] Do you agree with the general opinion that the public is insufficiently informed about the work of the Ministry of Justice?

[Penev] Yes, it is true that we are occupied with numerous other important issues, but this is no excuse. We do not pay enough attention to a very important factor for strengthening the people's confidence in our judicial system—namely, more glasnost and publicity about our activities. For the time being we have only one small information unit that is by far incapable of coping with the tasks of a proper press department for our ministry, which is an evident necessity.

Army Daily Assesses Political Forces Agreement

AU1501160391 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Jan 91 p 1

[Colonel Boris Khristov article: "With Hope, Albeit Without Illusions"]

[Text] The long-expected agreement between the political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly, on guaranteeing a peaceful transition toward democratic society, was finally signed. This took place on 3 January. The leaders of 15 parties and movements signed it. Seven of them did this with reservations. Only Dr. Krustyu Krustev, from the "Podkrepa" Confederation of Labor, did not sign the agreement, although he greeted the political forces on the success they achieved.

The birth of this exceptionally important document for the country's future was slow and painful. An interesting paradox emerged—the idea of this agreement was prompted by the willingness to resolve the governmental crisis, which could have unpredictable consequences. It so happened, however, that a new government was formed before the agreement was ratified. One way or another, this political document already is a fact. Nevertheless, the commentaries related to the agreement continue. Why?

For the Bulgarian people, the political forces' agreement represents the hope of salvation, and of finding the way out of the abyss into which we continue to sink. This is the most essential factor that predetermines the fateful importance of this document.

It is true that the agreement contains many contradicting opinions and evaluations. There is, however, one important thing: All political forces see this document as an objective necessity. To be able to correctly assess its importance we must first of all recall that the idea of preparing it was born when the political situation in the country was exceptionally complex and tense. Here we must give President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev his due. He invested much effort in making it clear that the agreement must be signed in order to produce a basis upon which the country could advance through the peaceful transition toward democratic society. All political forces understood this.

Actually, what is the essence of this exceptionally important document for the country's future? It determines the principles that will guide the basic political forces in their direct work. Those principles include: asserting political pluralism as the basis of the democratic society; participating in state power in accordance with the will of the voters; defending the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens; and creating guarantees against any forms of discrimination, persecution, and violence because of political activity, affiliation, or beliefs. It determines the timetable for adopting many priority laws by the Grand National Assembly and the duties of the government.

The agreement is a victory of prudence over emotions and passions. In it party interests finally bowed to national interests. Finally, an agreement was reached after a long period of confrontation between the basic political forces in the parliament—the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the Union of Democratic Forces—a confrontation that was sharp, irreconcilable, and fatal for our country. This is an incredible paradox of political life. Probably the experts will fundamentally research the birth of this phenomenal development. The important thing is that this document must produce positive results. We already have a government of hope. And now this agreement frees its hands to act. The Grand National Assembly is also accelerating its legislative activity. The long-expected light at the end of the tunnel, however, has failed to materialize. We must travel a long road before we really see it. Will we succeed?

There is only one answer—we will succeed if we prove capable of rapidly and smoothly implementing the political agreement. There are sufficient circumstances, prerequisites, and causes, that could foil the agreement. The Grand National Assembly must adopt as soon as possible a new constitution and the package of priority laws that was agreed upon. The government must adopt radical measures for constructing the foundations of a complex reform of the economic system. This is inevitable. We will experience unforeseeable difficulties and deprivation. There is no other way out of the crisis. Let us not delude ourselves. As never before we now need sound political prudence, high moral stamina, and strenuous and efficient labor. Labor, labor, and again labor. There is simply no other alternative.

Army Officers Legion Gives News Conference

AU1501165691 Sofia BTA in English 1625 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report on news conference by Rakovski Bulgarian Legion leadership with unidentified reporters in Sofia on 15 January]

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The "difficult children" of the Army united in the Rakovski Bulgarian Legion do not rule out the possibility of their ears being "boxed" very soon. At the news conference held here today it became clear that they are ready to counter the attacks, relying on the "right cause" they have committed themselves to—defending the social and professional rights of the officers and the members of the legion which is 10,000 people strong.

President Zhelyu Zhelev also pays heed to the demands of the legion, which gave ground for speculations and, respectively, refutations on the part of this organization. Its leadership denied that the legion had become a presidential organization and "the fist" of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces.

The legion has drafted an agreement regulating its relations with the employer—the Ministry of Defence. Its signature is problematic, because the leadership of the ministry has shown no interest in it so far. The legion may react by demanding a vote of no confidence in the minister of defence, Colonel General Mutafchiev.

The Bulgarian Army officers have got to face a lot of difficulties. When the army was depoliticized 500 young officers used it as a pretext to "break ranks" and try their luck in civil life.

Interior Ministry Orders Police Investigation

AU1501215391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, following the principles of the supremacy of the law, openness, and glasnost in the activity of the ministry, and prompted by a desire to increase the public authority and professional and social status of the officers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has decided that the materials of the official investigation into the incident involving an Austrian woman and militia officers at the Grand Hotel Sofia on 7 January 1991 should be submitted to the competent authority, namely the Sofia District Military Prosecutor's Office.

Therefore, Interior Minister Khristo Danov has issued an instruction stopping the execution of the order by the director of the militia for the dismissal of Staff Sergeant

Anton Stoyanov and for the imposition of disciplinary punishments on two other military officers. By the same instruction, Staff Sergeant Stoyanov is suspended from duty until the Military Prosecutor's Office has issued its verdict on the case.

Government Endorses New Sofia Airport Project

AU1501152491 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—According to the proposal for building a modern airport complex comprising of about 45 projects with a new landing and take-off runway endorsed today by the Council of Ministers, it is expected to complete the construction of the new airport of Sofia on the site approved by the International Air Transport Aviation (IATA) by the middle of the 90's. Bulgaria has orientated herself to cooperation with foreign companies for the construction of the airport. The money will be paid through joint exploitation of the project.

Sixty-seven companies have already presented their developments and offers for the Bulgarian side to study. The Bulgarian side attaches special importance to the observation of the requirements of ecology.

It is planned to complete the construction of the new complex in two stages, without interrupting the functioning of the present airport.

In the near future the Council of Ministers will announce the conditions for participation in the international competition for a new airport project. The new airport should be able to accept giants such as Boeing-747, DC-10, Il-62, which has not been possible until now.

Kozloduy Radioactive Waste Disposal Problems

AU1501171191 Sofia DEMOKRATISYA in Bulgarian 4 Jan 91 p 2

[Docent Todor Dimchev article: "Radioactive Waste From the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Whereas human artifacts may survive for thousands of years, the radioactive waste from the thermonuclear process in nuclear power plants "live" for millions of years. When one analyzes the state of nuclear and radiation safety at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant and the guarantees for its safety, one can understand why this problem is crucial for our small country if new nuclear power plants are to be constructed. Is it possible to guarantee an acceptable solution?

The Energy Industry Committee put the No. 5 generating unit into service two years ago without the supplier (the USSR) having provided and installed the following installations specified in the project: for sealing radioactive waste in bitumen, for burning combustible radioactive waste, for compacting solid radioactive waste, and for recovering oils contaminated with radioactivity. The result of this gross infringement is evident—a radiation accident occurred! The ground to the west of special building No. 3 was contaminated with liquid radioactive waste. At the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant at the moment, all the tanks of the temporary containers in special buildings Nos. 1, 2, and 3 for the temporary storage of liquid radioactive waste are filled with distillation residue.

The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is now about to start up the No. 6 generating unit. Once again, there are no installations for processing liquid and solid radioactive waste. The storage tank area of special building No. 3 has merely been extended, but this is only a temporary solution. It gives no guarantee preventing these tanks from being filled to capacity. This may result in a new radiation accident, because there are still no waste processing installations and, most important, because liquid radioactive waste is being produced in amounts above the quantities specified in the project.

For example, the project for the Belene Nuclear Power Plant, with four generating units fitted with VVER-1000 reactors, estimates that about 80,000 cubic meters of liquid radioactive waste will be produced annually. However, within only five months the No. 5 generating unit at Kozloduy has produced 25,844 cubic meters of liquid radioactive waste, equivalent to the quantity allowed in the project for a whole year! The persons responsible for this are the management of the nuclear power plant and the staff of the reactor department of the No. 5 unit.

The problem of the solid radioactive waste from the four generating units fitted with VVER-440 reactors has still not been solved.

The storage containers in special building No. 1 are full. The containers in building No. 2 are empty, but they are still not being used because the building contains water, which reappears after it has been pumped out. The additional storage container which has been built will soon be full. In the case of the Nos. 5 and 6 units, the project specifies the construction of a processing building and a storage reservoir for removal of the processed radioactive waste. Installations are specified for combustion, for compacting the waste, and for recovery of the waste oil contaminated with radioactivity. This building, however, is still not under construction, nor are there any processing installations. Everything still exisits only on paper. The projects are not being implemented! Yet during this period a special group led by Engineer Donchev, chief director of capital construction in the Energy Industry Committee, has been traveling around the world in order "to investigate offers" by Western companies connected with equipment and technologies for processing, conserving, and storing radioactive waste. The offers carry price tags of tens of millions of dollars, which are unlikely to be made available in the near future. Despite this, the traveling continues.

Instead of making trips to the West, it would surely be much better to construct and put into operation the

semi-industrial installations already developed in Bulgaria for sealing radioactive waste in bitumen, for ultraviolet treatment of the waste water from the special laundry at the nuclear power plant, and so on, as well as for the Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust to take measures to reduce the amounts of radioactive waste produced, as is indeed specified in the projects for the generating units.

Instead of speeding up the investigations of the technical offers already submitted by the Westinghouse, SGN [expansion unknown], Siemens, Nuchem, and Noel companies, as well as the project for technical aid and its amendments which have been proposed by the International Atomic Energy Agency, certain gentlemen from the nomenclature in the Energy Industry Committee and the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy are seeking "new offers" in the West.

The dear people are seeking their fortunes, so good luck to them!

State Newsprint Quotas for Dailies Cut

AU1501141991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Dimitrina Aleksandrova report: "Not One Newspaper Will Appear in the Number of Copies Announced by the Press Distribution Organization"]

[Excerpts] Only subscribers will be guaranteed the opportunity to read Bulgarian newspapers in January 1991. The state is only capable of guaranteeing newsprint for the circulation of the number of newspapers for which subscriptions have been collected by the Committee of Communications and Information. This is the final result of the accounts made by the Chief Press Administration under the Council of Ministers and the "Cellulose and Print" Company, director of the administration Mr. Slav Todorov stated. [passage omitted]

The state has difficulties in guaranteeing even this limited amount of newsprint. In 1990 the Soviet Union supplied 2,000 tons less newsprint than envisaged by agreement. This amount was supposed to be the so-called "transitional supply" for 1991. As a matter of fact, only 400 tons are available.

A total of 1,000 tons of newsprint have already been supplied from the state reserves, but this amount is insufficient to cover the print runs needed for subscriptions and sales at kiosks proposed for sale through the Press Distribution Organization.

According to the agreement signed on paper imports from the USSR we can expect 17,000 tons of newsprint in 1991 and 3,000 tons of offset paper, which is two times less than in 1990. The first deliveries are expected to arrive in February 1991 at the earliest. [passage omitted]

A year ago 275 newspapers existed in Bulgaria, to which 401 titles were added in the meantime, 120 of which are organs of political parties and of sociopolitical movements. A total of 125 newspapers are registered by state and public organizations, or publishing houses, while 12 newspapers belong to creative unions. We already have 135 private newspapers in our country.

By the beginning of 1990, 219 periodicals existed in our country. By 10 December 1990, 243 new magazines and journals were issued, while 60 more periodicals appeared between this date and Christmas. [passage omitted]

Considering all these circumstances, we can only guess which part of the currently existing printed media will survive. Without being officially announced, the market economy has already been introduced in the newsprint business. The state is entitled to purchase a small amount of paper and to distribute a tiny quota to everyone. Whoever wants more should try to obtain some foreign currency or find a company abroad which is ready to deliver newsprint for Bulgarian currency.

Ministry of Industry Cuts Personnel

AU1501152191 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The staff of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services will be cut down threefold under the government's decision of today on the ministry's new structure and functions.

Only about 400 of the total 1200 employees will keep their jobs. This is a practical measure in compliance with the present cabinet's principles of restricting the outlays from the budget and limiting the state interference in economy, Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev explained to the press.

The reorganized ministry will conduct the cabinet's policy on a macro-level. Its new functions will include the country's global interest in foreign investments, the effective technological exchange and the development of contacts with international economic, financial and other organizations.

Another important task will be to adjust Bulgarian economy to the new type of economic relations with the Soviet Union having in mind the mutual dependence of the two economies.

Ministry Permits Extra Meat Exports

AU1501214591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The Khorizont Program telephoned Dimitur Rangelov, chief of the Economic Militia Department of the Militia Directorate. Mr. Rangelov announced that the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has given permission for the export of meat over and above the state quotas, to the amount of about 30,000 tonnes. Rangelov also said that his service, the Ministry of Finance, and the customs authorities have started checking these permits.

President Havel Greets Forces in Saudi Arabia

LD1501184991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Greeting message from President Vaclav Havel to CSFR forces in Saudi Arabia; date not given; Havel speaks in Czech—recorded]

[Text] Soldiers, the final hours that separate us from the deadline set by the UN Security Council resolution obliging Iraq to withdraw its units from occupied Kuwait are passing quickly and mercilessly. At this moment we can hardly immagine what will follow.

The majority of the member countries of the United Nations, along with world public opinion, has made a stand against the aggressor. The Security Council approved a total of 12 resolutions condeming aggression. On the majority of these resolutions, all five of its permanent members voted together for the first time. Thanks to this unequivocal stand, the coalition of 28 countries, whose units stand side by side in the sands of the Arabian Peninsula came into being. At the same time, many countries of the world and representatives of international organizations undertook extensive diplomatic activity for a peaceful solution to the situation. All these attempts, supported also by our foreign policy, failed, thanks to the intransigent attitude of Saddam Husayn.

At this fateful moment of the 20th century, you also stand on the sands of the Saudi Arabian desert as a small but valuable part of the joint international forces which are ready to defend the right of all nations and countries of the world to self-determination, against the tyranny and diktat of totalitarian power. You are thus following the tradition of the volunteers in the Czechoslovak legions who stood at the foundation of our first free Czechoslovak Republic, as well as the tradition of those who fought from Tobruk to Dukla. You are rising to the call and duty which follows from the tragic experience of the Munich agreement, of which we did not become the only victims. Almost the whole world had to bear the consequences. You are fulfilling the demand of freedom for all, without exception, in the spirit of our November revolution. You are the ambassadors of our newly-formed democratic society and its new traditions.

Freedom is indivisible. For this simple, yet supremely human reason, you are prepared to defend the freedom of others. What is more, it is not your task to take lives but, on the contrary, to protect lives. For these reasons, I am proud of you, and I am sure all people of good will in our Republic share this feeling.

At this tense time I am hardly able to express my feelings. But believe me, I am with you deep in my heart, just like your mothers, your families, and your friends. I have no doubt that you will fulfill your duties and I will pray for you all to return home as soon as possible in good health.

Ambassador, Other Employees Leave Baghdad Embassy

LD1501105791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced that Czechoslovak Ambassador to Iraq Ladislav Lengel has been recalled for consultations. The remaining diplomats and employees of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs working at the embassy in Baghdad have also left for Czechoslovakia for a holiday. The departure of these officials does not mean the end or suspension of the activities of the mission. Its premises remain open. Together with Czechoslovak property it will be administered by local personnel. [passage omitted]

Foreigners Must Register Due to Terrorist Threat

AU1501144491 Prague CTK in English 0845 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Interior Ministry has reminded foreigners of Czechoslovak regulations under which they have to register during their stay with Czechoslovak authorities.

The reminder has been issued in connection with Saddam Husayn's threat of terrorist attacks against countries involved in the anti-Iraqi coalition. For this reason it is important for the police to know where foreign nationals are staying, a spokesman for the ministry said.

Foreigners who are obliged to have visas must report themselves within 48 hours, those on visa-free visits after 30 days of stay in Czechoslovakia.

Rychetsky: No Soviet Threat; Iraqis To Leave

LD1501211391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky announced in connection with the current tense situation in the Soviet Union that there is no threat at all of a military violation of the territorial integrity or security of our state from the Soviet side. He also said that there are now about 47 Iraqi nationals in the Brno Military Academy. Their movements are being continually monitored. Pavel Rychetsky said that talks will probably be conducted with them so that they will voluntarily leave our country.

Deputies Condemn Events in Lithuania

LD1501051991 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CTK)—Members of the Czechoslovak parliament adopted today a resolution condemning the deployment of troops against the people of Lithuania. The Foreign Affairs Committee called for the rights to self determination of the Lithuanians and a halt to violent actions and for the solution of all problems

through political channels. The only legal government of Lithuania is the one established by the will of the legitimate Lithuanian parliament, the deputies said.

Assembly To Discuss Lithuania, Pact Withdrawal

LD1501052991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Excerpt] The Foreign Relations Committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly today proposed the calling of an extraordinary session of our legislature for tomorrow [15 January] or Wednesday. According to the members of these committees, the situation in Lithuania and Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact should form the agenda. Regarding the situations in Lithuania and the Persian Gulf, Jiri Dienstbier, deputy prime minister of the federal government and foreign minister of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, decided to immediately set up an operational headquarters for the ministry. [passage omitted]

Legal Council Discusses Use of Army

LD1501190891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Report by Editor Barbora Tacheci]

[Text] Today the Legislative Council of the federal government discussed a package of proposals of legal regulations concerning state defense and the internal security of the state. Deputy Federal Premier Pavel Rychetsky said at a press conference afterward that the fact that we are the only country without constitutional legal norms to deal with a situation where our country is under threat and with the possibility of the use of the Army has resulted from the necessity in the last 14 months to remove all legal possibilities of the nondemocratic use of the Army. In this way a gap in the legal system has been created.

Among the most important proposals discussed today by the Legislative Council in connection with the tense situation in the Persian Gulf and in the Baltic region is the bill on the constitutional law on the internal state of emergency and an amendment to the defense law.

The bill in the defense law amends the possibility of the use of the Army not only at a time of immediate military threat but also in the case of a catastrophe but in this case only for 90 (?days); a longer period would need the permission of the Federal Assembly.

In connection with the threats from Saddam Husayn about possible terrorist attacks in the countries which have sent units to the Persian Gulf, Pavel Rychetsky said that the Defense Ministry has the right to order the Army to carry out sentry duty, that is, to guard power stations, storerooms and various strategic objects. The adoption of the amendment to the Defense Law is necessary in this connection.

Klaus' Economic Reforms Criticized

AU1501125391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jan 91 p 3

[Ivan Carnogursky article: "Mistakes of Mr. Klaus"]

[Excerpts] Small-scale as well as large-scale privatization will be the most frequent subject discussed these days and throughout the entire year. [passage omitted]

The movement of a nation or a state has political, social, and economic components. The resulting vector is a sum of the magnitudes and directions of these components.

The efforts of Mr. Klaus, federal finance minister—and, for the time being, the captain of our economic team, so it seems—can be seen as an attempt to achieve optimal results. So far, he has been more successful in achieving significant success in the struggle for the captain's position than in the fight for economic prosperity. He has expertly mastered problems of federal financing and he asserted himself, or, specifically, he asserted his philosophy of creating republican and federal budgets. If we add his leading role in the Civic Forum to that, then we can see that he is a real key personality in the Czech and Slovak economy. This is why it is necessary to criticize and cast doubt on decisions coming out of Master Klaus' workshop.

Privatization has a principal role in the return of our economy to the road of world development. We do not doubt this. Internal, self-regulating, systemic relations confirm in theory and practice that, without the direct control and interest of the owner, no economic subject is capable of permanent and efficient economic behavior and constant growth. Mr. Klaus contributed personally to this thesis by his coupon method of privatization through which he wants to return to the citizens of the federation their share in what was previously state property.

After stormy discussions, this share for an adult citizen has been established at the nominal value of 2,000 korunas. If all citizens used this opportunity, which is not probable, it would mean citizens would have property amounting to 20 billion korunas returned to them. Of course, we have heard the response that the real value of a point [in a coupon] may be higher than its nominal value, and this means that citizens would receive more. How much more? Two, three times more? Neither Mr. Klaus nor the federation will be more generous. There is another reply, a more realistic one. Due to the backwardness in technology and production, the value of the national property will not even reach its nominal value. The registered value of the national property that should be gradually privatized and is owned by the state today is over 3,000 billion korunas. Therefore we are supposed to become decisionmakers on 0.7 percent of the economic base in our upcoming economic prosperity! Not even one percent!

If we add the share of the foreign capital that we want to attract to our market—no country allows this capital to

exceed 20 to 25 percent—then there still remains an open question: What does Mr. Klaus want to do with three quarters of national property? We only know that this property should not get into the hands of gas station personnel, illegal money changers, butchers, and prostitutes. Let the honest members of these professions—if there are any—forgive me, this does not apply to them.

Who, then, will become our Onassis or Trump, if one is not supposed to smuggle cigarettes? How to become an Onassis or Trump is not only being kept a secret, but the public is constantly being led to believe that anyone who becomes rich must have stolen a piece of national property. This is the task and principal endeavor of the Ministry of Control.

No one has said that we can create a system of loans based on mortgages; that is, state ownership over the transferred property until it is repaid by a private person from the profits and in the form of levies. We have not passed the law—and we have heard nothing on the subject—that would enable individuals and groups to take over property amounting to millions and billions and to efficiently manage it. What are we afraid of? Are we afraid that someone would incur greater losses than the losses incurred by the state for over 40 years? If the private owner does not repay the entire value, a possibility still remains that this property can be taken from him and given to someone else who is more capable. Or, do we believe that the employees in factories and enterprises would abhor accepting a double, or an even higher salary from the hands of a venturesome entrepreneur who would be able to do what the state has been unable to do for 40 years? Or, does Mr. Klaus have other, yet unpublished intentions—either his own or suggested by others—on what to do with national property amounting to thousands of billions?

For a couple of months we have been enthusiastic about a more comprehensible issue—small-scale privatization. This idea had seen the light of day in Slovakia a long time before the elections and their authors called it "the complete liquidation of state-owned property in the tertiary sector." Thanks to roundtable talks the viewers were able to learn that its goal was to secure the economic and political success of the revolution. State ownership in one sector of the economy had to be liquidated by a psychological shock. At the same time, the nation was to be occupied by activity that requires the time, money, skills, and personal performance of the individual. Thousands of employment opportunities were to be created, causing an outflow of capable people from big industry. Directors of enterprises were to be indirectly forced to modernize their enterprises, to radically decrease the number of administrative workers, and to compensate for experts who left the most important posts.

It is possible to achieve this goal only if all of the aforementioned conditions are met. If we start looking to the right or to the left and if we are concerned about difficulties, we will achieve nothing. It seems that we are about to gradually kill small-scale privatization in a way similar to the way it happened to all communist reforms. They were given publicity, but the interest of the state in these reforms lasted only until another Korabelinkova's [allusion to a Soviet shock worker in 1920] method appeared. If Mr. Klaus wants to keep the federation from going astray, he must not ignore these facts and he must realize their negative impact. A third question—which has never been asked before—comes to my mind. Are we prepared to face the alternative that small-scale, as well as large-scale privatization will fail and we will be unable to carry it out in the form in which it has been legalized? What will happen to the fund for the Republic in which all the existing national property will be accumulated and only a small number of prospering corporations will emerge victorious from the purgatory of perestroyka? Communist reforms did not succeed because they were directed by a small group of central organs and individuals. What are the guarantees that the two new ministries—made up of people who have only a limited knowledge of the management of enterprises—will be able to cope with the unpredictable economic system of our federation.

In a negative case, political parties will reach for routine solutions—they will replace ministers, or the voters will replace political parties at the head of our state. However, we need successful economic reform rather than experiments with new ministers and governments.

If we do not want to fall into following the old ways, it is necessary to criticize the most important posts and people in them.

It is also necessary to cast doubt on the methods of Mr. Klaus. He himself will recover from a possible failure much easier than the entire federation and the republics with 15 million Czechs and Slovaks.

Klaus Reform Seen As Threat to Press Freedom

AU1501160291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Jan 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Press Freedom in Jeopardy: Does Economic Efficiency Run Counter to the Interests of Democracy?"]

[Text] The changes connected with Klaus' economic reforms have brought about a situation which actually jeopardizes the freedom of the press, particularly in Slovakia. A situation emerged in which the objective social interest to restore the efficiency of Czechoslovakia's economy runs counter to the efforts to develop political pluralism through the press and to provide the civic public with information and views enlisting its active participation in the process of strengthening democracy. Economic technocratism is creating a state of affairs which could result in an unwarranted information monopoly and in the discrimination of citizens who have no choice but to depend on economically privileged periodicals.

The new price of newsprint and the sales tax endanger, above all, the new political dailies that have entered the market since the November 1989 revolution: i.e. dailies which were launched last year, at a time when periodicals with a well-established readership from the period of the totalitarian regime were clearly dominant in the structure of the press. This is true of two or three dailies in Slovakia which are in the position to survive the new economic regime thanks to positions acquired in the past. A left-wing tendency prevails in the profile of these dailies and they are closer to the opposition than they are to the government, which would not be a deficiency in itself. The interests of democratic balance require, however, the preservation of a more diverse spectrum of opinions of the daily press in Slovakia. The risk that the present diversity could disappear is real if, for example, a moratorium on the taxation of the daily press were not introduced or if the dailies were denied some other form of temporary relief from the sales tax.

One cannot accept as a starting point for discussion the view of Vaclav Klaus that only newspapers in which consumers will show appropriate interest will hold their own on the newspaper market because this argument is derived from a different economic environment. It is a fact that the more numerous Czech population as a potential market for the periodical press objectively puts Prague dailies at an advantage and gives them a greater chance of retaining a readership that will permit their survival under the more demanding socioeconomic conditions. The information needs of the Slovak community are the same, however, as in Bohemia where Klaus' reform will not change the political spectrum of the daily press.

The publication of the daily press, which is the bearer of Slovakia's political and cultural identity, is one of the attributes of its national sovereignty. If the federal government does not assimilate this view of the problem of the imposition of the sales tax on the periodical press, the initiative to solve this problem will stay in the hands of the Slovak government. After all, the contribution of this tax to the state budget is not such as to preclude the possibility of a compromise and warrant the escalation of this problem onto the level of a political controversy. Given his goodwill, a reformer of such stature as our "guardian of the treasury" should not find it difficult to convince his colleagues in the federal government with the argument that tax relief has acquitted itself well in more than one of the economies which he used as a model in drafting the blueprint for his radical economic reform.

'Antagonisms' Thwart Attempt To Organize Romanies

AU1501172491 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jan 91 p 2

["ij"-signed report: "Bridging Differences Within the Movement; Attempt To Set Up Club of Romany Deputies"]

[Text] The first attempt at setting up a Club of Romany Deputies [Klub Poslancu Romu] was made in the building of the Czech National Council yesterday. The immediate task of the interparliamentarian association of Romanies should be to overcome the present antagonisms within the Romany movement.

Deputy Karel Holomek, who launched this initiative at the unification of Romany deputies, declared that one of the causes of misunderstandings between representatives of the Romanies is the question of the recognition of Romany nationality. While the Romany Civic Initiative considers the recognition of Romany nationality to be the basic prerequisite for the self-awareness of Romanies, Romany special interest associations are afraid of prejudice to which members of this nationality would be exposed in advance. Another source of discord is whether the Romany problem should be dealt with at the republic level or at the level of the federation. This conflict has been amplified by the circumstance that whereas the Czech National Council set aside 15 million korunas for the support of Romanies, the Slovak National Council did not approve the appropriation of any funds for this purpose, even though the situation of Romanies in Slovakia is far more difficult than it is in Bohemia.

Only four Romany deputies turned up for yesterday's constituent meeting of the club, however.

Klaus 'Puzzled' by First Day of OF Congress

AU1501115591 Prague CTK in English 1910 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 12 (CTK)— Civic Forum [OF] Chairman Vaclav Klaus told journalists during an improvised meeting that he was puzzled by the first day of the OF Congress.

"Many personalities in the Civic Forum have recently caused an uproar, fuss and confusion, called for a split, and today make as if they did not want anything like that. As if all that was approved here today were in complete harmony with their views. This is why I am somewhat disappointed by the congress and am concerned that we may face precisely the same problems on Monday."

Commenting on reservations that the transformation of the OF is not legally correct Klaus said that he considers legal aspects irrelevant.

"We want the OF to become an entity able to act and I am afraid that nothing has gone in this direction so far", he said.

He added that he was "deeply suspicious" if the part that the OF is opposed to socialism of any kind has been passed in the program statement without objections. "I am fully convinced that this sentence is totally and absolutely unacceptable for quite a number of exponents

of the liberal group. If it has been accepted without a protest, then I am rather disquieted," Klaus said.

Asked about his view on the name of the new political party he said that nothing else has so far been said than that it should be Civic Forum."

Klaus Reelected Civic Forum Chairman

AU1501120291 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)— 119 out of the 147 delegates present at the Civic Forum Congress voted today to re-elect Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus chairman of this movement now turning into a political party.

The congress also elected a 16-member Council of the Civic Forum in the Czech Republic.

OF Liberals Concerned Over Lack of 'Tolerance'

AU1501115291 Prague CTK in English 2209 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)— Chairman of the Civic Forum (OF) Vaclav Klaus today listed four features as characteristic of the OF Congress which ended today.

They are the change of the loose movement into a political party, the adoption of a political program for this party, the approval of the principles of its organizational structure, and the election of a new OF Council the composition of which reflects the new alignment of political forces within the OF.

The sixteen-member council is formed by ten members proposed by the district organizations and three each representing the liberal and the right-wing groups in parliament.

Klaus also said that he has always believed that it is necessary to struggle against communist ideology in all its forms but he opposed a simplified political screening of individuals.

He said that too radical views calling for the expulsion of former Communist Party members from the OF as a political party were unfortunate. In his opinion this radicalization concerned one side of the OF which was caused by too strong-worded statements of some representatives of the other wing in the OF formed at the recent time.

This view was rejected by one of the delegates, Ivan Rynda, who did not think that the "liberal group was the cause of the escalation which has taken place in the last few weeks and that it was to blame for the atmosphere which prevailed at the congress." "The Liberal Club is concerned over the atmosphere" at the congress, Rynda said and added that it did not correspond to the Club's notions of a democratic society.

Before the official conclusion of the congress the liberal group read a statement in which it said that it voted for the party and the program because "we want to preserve the government coalition, a functional parliament and continuation of cooperation in the coalition with the Public Against Violence." However, the party "behaved to the minority as to a foreign body that should be expelled from the party sooner or later. The party, turning to the right, let itself be inspired for its internal structure by parties far left of center. It will not be easy to keep the balance of such a party."

It deplored that the discussions lacked tolerance and ability to listen to one another.

At the close the delegates passed a resolution which says e.g. that the next congress will discuss whether former Communist Party members will be admitted as OF party members. The OF Council is to decide on the date of the next congress.

OF Transformation Approved, Objections Raised

AU1501115791 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 12 (CTK)— 126 out of the 175 delegates at the Civic Forum Congress voted today for the movement to turn into a political party with individual membership.

After the vote which favored the change of the Civic Forum from a movement without a registered membership into a political party, CTK asked several prominent persons in the movement for their opinion.

Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky said that in legal terms "the text approved by the congress, that the Civic Forum defines itself as a political party, cannot be analyzed." Political parties are formed when they apply for registration by the Interior Ministry, submit their draft statutes and a list of members of the preparatory committee and meet other formal requirements.

Czechoslovak law does not provide for the transformation of a movement into a party. Only two ways are possible in legal terms: "either to found a political party outside the framework of the Civic Forum, which cannot be called Civic Forum because the law explicitly forbids it, or to abolish the Civic Forum and found a political party instead," Rychetsky said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous did not regard the decision to change into a political party as fortunate. "Some people who do not identify themselves with the new definition of the Civic Forum are being excluded by a peculiar trick, in conflict with the existing legislation. If a new political party is founded today, everyone should think about whether he will join it or not."

OF Congress Decision on Party Structure Reported

AU1501115991 Prague CTK in English 2230 GMT 13 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 13 (CTK)— The Civic Forum (OF) Congress spent its second day debating the structure and statutes of the OF as a party into which this political movement is to turn after yesterday's approval by the congress.

The delegates agreed that membership will be individual and OF members must not be members of any other political party or movement, thus actually excluding those who have joined within sympathizing groups.

The members will be registered and restore their membership once a year. They will have to agree with and observe the party's political program and statutes and pay a registration fee of 50-100 crowns annually.

Former collaborators of the secret police "StB" and People's Militias, the Communist Party armed force, are excluded from membership as well.

The demand of some delegates to prevent from membership also people who were members of any official political party within the "National Front" after 1948, apparently meaning especially Communists expelled after 1968, was defeated by a close majority of seven votes.

OF Official on Organization's Internal Problems

AU1501171091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Vaclav Zak, first deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, by "(IJ)" in Prague; date not given: "Is Civic Forum Incomprehensible?"—first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Prague—At the Prague Civic Forum Assembly there was talk of disputes within the movement. Therefore, we asked Vaclav Zak, first deputy chairman of the Czech National Council and a member of the planning commission that prepared the program principles for the Civic Forum Liberal Club, to tell us on which issues opinions within Civic Forum diverge. Vaclav Zak stated that the disputes within Civic Forum are connected with the specific way in which the problems faced by the organization are viewed. He briefly characterized these problems:

"In my opinion, incomprehensibility is—to a certain extent—an obvious problem. It is necessary to separate the views of individuals from the views of deputies' clubs and Civic Forum supporters. I am bold enough to claim that, for example, in issues connected with privatization and economic reform there is almost complete agreement among the deputies. The term 'limitless' is intended to incorporate the apparent existence of a whole political spectrum within Civic Forum—from the left to the right. One issue is the attitude toward current and former Communists. In fundamental issues—such as the stance toward economic changes—Civic Forum is surprisingly united. There are also various views on how to introduce 'local policy.' Breaking up meetings and the existence of several Civic Forums in one place complicate the work of Civic Forum managers. Therefore, appeals mainly come from them for stronger organization.

"These are the three basic problems. There are various views on there solutions. One group perceives the current situation as the end of a specific development phase within Civic Forum and wants to begin building a new party. The second group is endeavoring to resolve the aforementioned problems by amending Civic Forum's articles and by reinforcing its structure while, of course, trying to make sure that the forum does not abandon the character of its current policy or the search for broad social support."

Slovak Commentary Views OF Differentiation

AU1501182591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Jan 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Do Not Succumb to Temptation!"]

[Text] The process of differentiation within the Civic Forum's [OF] ideological structure is reaching the stage where the institutionalization of the differences between the supporters of Civic Forum Chairman Vaclav Klaus and his liberal opponents—who are closer to the movement's original philosophy—is considered to be definitive. Despite the crystallization of Klaus' ideas about establishing a right-wing oriented political party, not even his supporters have unequivocally asserted the point of view that the Civic Forum should narrow its electoral program, because this would limit not only the potential voter base but also parliamentary support for Klaus' party of the "democratic right." Signals from the Czech countryside indicate that therethey are more aware of this situation than the Civic Forum Coordinating Center in Prague. It is already preparing to put Klaus' party political doctrine into practice.

The development of the situation on the Prague political scene in this specific context is especially important in relation to the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement as the main coalition partners on a federal level are involved. Klaus' phobia about Meciar is generally known in the political lobbies. The Slovak prime minister certainly does not regard the federal finance minister as the Slovaks' benefactor, so the strengthening of Klaus' position at the forthcoming Civic Forum Assembly in Prague may extend their traditional antagonism even more.

However, the issue does not involve these two politicians specifically. The fundamental differences lie in the perception of Klaus' program for changing our society and in the VPN's ideas as formulated in its program "A Chance for Slovakia." The Czech right wing clustered

around the Civic Forum platform perceives the national republics' sovereignty within the federation differently than the Slovak government, which is supported by the Slovak National Council. As VPN representatives hold the most important positions in Slovak politics, the aforementioned differences must have am impact on relations between both civic movements.

Their coalition cooperation on a federal level, however, will not be immediately affected if Civic Forum adheres to its current line in Czech-Slovak relations and does not succumb to the temptation to choose representatives who match its political taste as its partners in Slovakia. The Czech-Slovak relationship has good prospects as it will be implemented in the background of the democratic changes that took place in our society after November 1989. Slovakia also perceives these changes as a process of self-realization, although in Civic Forum circles pejorative names drawn from a fundamental word—nationalism—are being used to describe this response. If this was indeed the case, this fact would have to be dealt with realistically.

Jan Carnogursky Interviewed on Slovak Policy

AU1601095791 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 8 Jan 91 p 7

[Interview with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Petr Husak; place and date not given: "The Nation in the First Place"—first paragraph is SVOBODNE SLOVO introduction]

[Text] To look at economic problems through nationalistic glasses leads, from time to time, to slightly absurd situations, such as the proposal to establish two banks of issue in a unified federation just at the time when a uniting Europe is preparing a single bank of this kind; the proposal to establish a stock market with a branch in Slovakia when an expert opinion says that more than one stock market is not economically viable; the dispute about the number of anti-monopolistic offices....

[Carnogursky] The entire problem lies in attitude. When dealing with a problem belonging to the sphere of political authority, Slovak political representatives prefer adopting a national stance to adopting a pure economic one. I will try to get to the root of the problem. In Slovakia, it is not possible to assert purely pragmatic and economic solutions. I personally do not agree with the idea that problems should be solved by taking only economic and political viewpoints into account. There are also national aspects that should be considered. If our ancestors had purely economic considerations, then Austria-Hungary would have never had disintegrated, since it was a more compact entity than Czechoslovakia. (This was the beginning of the century, however—author's note.)

[Husak] In which instances, do you believe, does this state obstruct the national life in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] In certain instances. For example, the law on local elections, which allowed people in Bohemia to vote for personalities and not for political parties, had a negative impact in Southern Slovakia, where the ethnic problem persists. Very often, Slovaks cannot use their mother tongue to communicate with authorities because no one speaks Slovak with them. The impact of the law was that Hungarian voters voted for Hungarian deputies, irrespective of political parties.

[Husak] The election law in Slovakia differs from that in Bohemia. Slovak law was passed in the Slovak National Council. As you have put it, it seems that Czechs are to blame for the victory of Hungarians in Southern Slovakia.

[Carnogursky] The principles were established jointly and on their bases two laws were established. I do not blame Czechs for the victory of Hungarians in Southern Slovakia, I am only illustrating....

[Husak] Political scientists, even today, cannot exclude the threat from the East in the case of an economic and political collapse in the Soviet Union. It is conceivable that both nations would be better prepared to defend themselves under the wings of the federation than individually....

[Carnogursky] I agree that, as a single entity, we will be better economically and politically prepared to face immigration from the East. Maybe Slovaks will then realize what the federation is to them.

[Husak] Experts do not speak only about refugees from the Soviet Union, but also about the possible military threat. As long as Czechoslovakia is connected with the USSR by an umbilical cord, any democratic government, being aware of the fact that Moscow is not that far away, will have to think twice before it makes a move on the political chessboard. Asserting national ambitions would certainly increase this danger.

[Carnogursky] The problem is that national ambitions exist. Nations—without knowing a final and a rational solution—have two alternatives: To assert their national identity—this identity undoubtedly can reach the top only in an independent state—or to take into account the risks and dangers that ensue from such a solution.

[Husak] M. Gorbachev is an outstanding politician, but he is not a brilliant economist. The President of the United States does not have to be an economist, since, under the market pressure, 95 percent of decisions are made by independent officials at a lower level. Do you think that the attitude of Slovak political representatives also reflects economic considerations?

[Carnogursky] This is the basic difference in the arguments of the Czech and the Slovak representatives. If we shift the national principle to the second or third place, then, from the economic and political points of view, a nationwide solution to any problem seems better and more efficient. If we have to implement these solutions at a lower level, however, then we can see that they are

not as efficient as they seemed. This is why we put the national principle in the first place. From this point of view, the attitudes of the Slovak government may not seem economic to you.

[Husak] Is not the policy of giving the priority to national interests an attractive and cheap policy?

[Carnogursky] No, it is not, since there is a nation that has its interests, dreams, and ambitions.

[Husak] Policy should be also decided at the federal level, particularly in times of economic and political unification of Europe....

[Carnogursky] Federal policy should be a sum of national policies. In the 19th century, when Ludovit Stur asserted the literary Slovak language, Kollar, Safarik and others took a stand against him. They were saying that Slovaks should speak Czech. There arguments were, among other things, historical continuity, resemblance of the two languages, and greater economic unity. Stur insisted on the legalization of the Slovak language. He justified this by saying that people in Slovakia would not use the Czech language in the same manner as the Slovak language anyway, and that they would be more vulnerable to Hungarians.... Today we have a similar problem, not only in the language sphere, but also in economic and other spheres.

[Husak] How does Slovakia want to enter Europe?

[Carnogursky] Slovakia wants to be an equal partner with other nations in the Europe to come. Slovakia should be represented in international organizations as other nations are. This would also be advantageous for Czechs. If Czechoslovakia represents us, then we have only one representative, but in the other case, we would have two representatives. Slovakia may have been thinking that there is no limit to what it can do and that it will find no resistance. But the union with 350 million Europeans will clearly show the relations that unite our two nations. Such a far away solution [united Europe] allows us not to push for immediate solutions to some problems—like immediate division of the gas pipelines—but to reconsider all alternatives. This is what offers the Slovak nation prospects. If we stayed only in Czechoslovakia, we would be returning to the idea of a Czechoslovak nation, and that is not what we want.

[Husak] Do you think that Europe and the world will accept us like that?

[Carnogursky] We realize that they do not want to accept us like that. If the world compares the development in Yugoslavia or in the Soviet Union, where the clashes lead to a complete disintegration of the federation, then I think that our model will be more acceptable for them. And they may change their opinion then.

Pittner Comments on Problems of Slovak Police

AU1501155791

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 8 January on page 3 carries an 800-word interview with Ladislav Pittner, minister of interior of the Slovak Republic, by Jindrich Filo entitled "The Police Must Not Oppress." The place and date of the interview are not given.

In his introductory question, Filo inquires whether Pittner is not afraid of conflicts with Prime Minister Meciar. As the interviewer points out, Pittner's predecessor as Slovak interior minister, Anton Andras, complained when he resigned on 5 November 1990 about "Vladimir Meciar's interference in his sphere of authority and the impossibility to work under such circumstances." Pittner replies that his relationship with Meciar is "based on mutual respect and routine cooperation. I have no reason to fear anything. I believe that the Meciar-Andras conflict is behind us and there is no point in dissecting the matter. The government is dealing with many far more important matters."

Next, Pittner discusses the "democratization" of the Slovak police force. He says that the management structure of the security forces has been reduced to only two tiers to draw them closer to citizens, that order-keeping units are no longer armed with clubs, and that the Bratislava police have hired the first women. The interior ministry is also setting up "social police units," the members of which will not be wearing uniforms, to cope with "situations when there is trouble brewing in the streets."

In his final reply, Pittner attributes the rising crime in Bratislava to the "loss of respect for laws and its representatives." He therefore regards it as "our number one task" to "regain the trust of citizens and enlist their cooperation." Speaking about crime in Bratislava, Pittner states that the Slovak capital "is no longer a transit place but the destination as far as narcotics are concerned." Drug dealers are reportedly going around secondary and vocational schools and offering drugs "initially for free" to get the students addicted.

Conflict Between Federal, Slovak TV Explained

AU1501154891

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 7 January 1991 on pages 1 and 12 carries a 3,000-word article by Milan Polak entitled "Slovak Television in Prague's Bondage." The article, which is based on the author's interviews with Peter Zeman, director of Slovak television, and other high-ranking Slovak television officials, deals with the "unequal, unjust, and essentially humiliating position of Slovak television broadcasting." Disagreements between federal and Slovak television are also the subject of a 700-word Zbynek Fiala commentary entitled "Before They Run Out of Money" in Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 3 January on page 2.

According to Polak's NARODNA OBRODA article, the "organization, structure, and system of television broadcasting and the institution known under the name Czechoslovak television in general" are among those "old totalitarian mechanisms" which have survived the November 1989 revolution "intact," despite personnel changes. Czechoslovak television has not, for example, responded to the change in the name of the country to CSFR nor has it reacted to the recently approved law on division of powers. The "monopoly of Czechoslovak television in Prague" continues and Bratislava is still only the seat of the "regional management of Czechoslovak television for Slovakia" without its own separate legal status. Polak discusses the "urgent need" to overcome the status of Slovak television as a "regional subdivision of uniform Czechoslovak television" and to transform it into an "independent national institution under public law." In this context he criticizes the lack of progress on the legislative solution of this matter. Whereas the Slovak side has already drawn up the bill on Slovak television, which respects the philosophy of the recently approved law on division of powers, the Czech side "is in no hurry" to pass a corresponding bill because it considers the existing system adequate and "does not mind" the existence of Czechoslovak television. This perpetuates the current "asymmetrical model" of television broadcasting. Polak finds this "intolerable" as the existing model was created under different political premises and "has lost its moral justification and logic."

Speaking about Slovak television managers' ideas about the future of television broadcasting, Polak says that once the Czech and Slovak parliaments pass legislation on Czech and Slovak national televisions, the property of Czechoslovak Television should be divided between them. Federally broadcast programs, such as news and current affairs programs, could be "ensured" by an even distribution of air time between Czech television and Slovak television. Alternatively, the federal news could be broadcast four times a week from Prague and three times a week from Bratislava. This would be an improvement over the present situation where "Slovakia influences the news broadcast on federal television only through one moderator, whose influence is further limited and duly diminished by the aggressiveness of the Prague chief editor."

The article also discusses the negative impact of budget cuts on Slovak television. According to the author, Slovak television is to receive a subsidy of only 51.3 million korunas from the state budget this year, which is only about 10 percent of last year's subsidy of 532 million korunas. As this sum does not even suffice to cover postal fees for the transmission of the television signal, Slovak television will be forced to double subscription fees. The Czech Republic, on the other hand, will probably make do with the current subscription fees, in view of the greater number of television subscribers. Even with higher subscription fees, "the managers and responsible officials of Slovak Television believe that the proposed budget jeopardizes its existence." The viewer must therefore be prepared for a "substantial reduction" of air time; a reduction of all types of programs, including current affairs programs and educational programs; and the "absence" of original television dramas.

Speaking about relations between the Prague and Bratislava television organizations in the Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES commentary, Zbynek Fiala says that "there are not any," apart from the evening television news, "the sole thin thread of contacts on the mine field of jurisdiction disputes." Fiala fears that the present "mess in legal and relationship terms" could be replaced by three independent television news programs (Czech, Slovak, and federal) competing for the television audience. He quotes Petr Krul, editor in chief of the F 1 (federal) news, as saying that "this would be a catastrophe" because it would be a "competition among three beggars who would eventually have to pool their resources anyway."

Fiala qualifies the present disputes about whether Czechoslovakia should have two or three televisions as "absurd in principle" because there should be "as many televisions as are able to earn their living and find space in the airwaves." In his opinion, the right question to ask would be which model of television broadcasting will ensure the best, most objective, promptest, and most complete information of the public.

Fiala also denies a recent statement by CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko that the three governments have reached a compromise on Federal television. Even though "journalists were leaving Jozef Miklosko's recent news conference with the feeling that at their meeting in Brno in early December, representatives of the three governments had reached an agreement that is acceptable to all, this is not the case," according to Fiala, and television continues to be subject of jurisdiction disputes. Fiala points out that there have not been any talks on the subject of television since the meeting in Brno, which he sees as an indication that "talks between Prague and Bratislava can be more explosive than talks between Baghdad and Washington."

Hungarian Program on Bratislava TV Curtailed

AU1501154491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Jan 91 p 3

[Telephone interview with Zoltan Pek, editor of the Hungarian-language television program of Bratislava Television, by Tibor Kis from Bratislava; date not given: "Hungarian Program on Bratislava Television Curtailed"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] The Hungarian program on Bratislava Television is in danger. The first Hungarian-language program this year was broadcast on 8 January. Our Prague correspondent asked Zoltan Pek about the changed conditions.

[Kis] After all, how did the debate end? Will there be a Hungarian program or not? If the Hungarian program continues, how long will it be?

[Pek] One year ago our program received 45 minutes per week after years of having only 30 minutes. A campaign was initiated against us at the end of 1990 and, under the pretext of restructuring the program, the officials discussed the possibility of eliminating the Hungarian broadcasts altogether, or radically reducing the broadcast time. Finally, it has been decided that our program will be aired under the old title and at the usual time, but for only 15 minutes instead of the previous 45. In addition, we were also promised 10 minutes of broadcast time in the new national minority program scheduled for 25 minutes every fortnight.

[Kis] In view of all this, how will the content of your news magazine change?

[Pek] According to our plans, our people will prepare reports on areas inhabited by the Hungarian minority, and three reports will go into the allotted 15 minutes. This is an achievement in itself because, originally, we were not supposed to produce our own reports.

[Kis] Was there any other reason for the reduction in broadcast time, in addition to the structural reorganization?

[Pek] The officials also mentioned financial reasons, but we regard the extent of broadcast time reduction as disproportionate with the reduction in the broadcasting time of other Slovak-language programs.

[Kis] How did this decision affect your staff, both financially and morally?

[Pek] Our staff will remain intact for the time being. These 15 minutes are still better than nothing, but this does not mean that we have resigned ourselves to this decision. We will take further measures and we would like to regain the original 30 minutes of broadcasting time provided to us at the beginning of our broadcasts. We have been promised a meeting with Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Carnogursky to express our opinion.

Reactions Continue to Action Against Lithuania

Debrecen Rally Protests Soviet Actions

LD1501193991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Peace demonstrations were held in several large U.S. and Western European cities. A similar demonstration took place at home as well, in Debrecen. At the meeting, representatives of several political parties handed a protest statement about the Baltic events to the Soviet representatives.

The text of the statement emphasizes that events in Lithuanian not only peace threaten in the Soviet Union but all of Central and Eastern Europe. The Soviet military's massacre hauntingly resembles the tragic days of 1956, and it would be an unforgivable sin if we did not care about the struggle of a freedom-loving small nation. For these reasons, the document demands that immediate negotiations begin between the constitutionally elected leaders of Lithuania and the central power.

Draft Resolution Read

LD1501102391 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1625 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Speech by Deputy Zoltan Rockenbauer, representing the Federation of Young Democrats at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Chairman, esteemed House. [passage omitted] I ask you to listen to a draft resolution on Lithuania. Unfortunately, I must say that in the great haste, typing errors confusing the meaning also slipped in. I ask you, fellow deputies, to pay close attention, because what I now read is the valid text.

The draft resolution of the National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary: The National Assembly of the Republic of Hungary observes with deep concern that there are attempts, as an official step of the Soviet Government, to forcefully persuade the independent Lithuanian Republic to surrender its national sovereignty and right to self-determination. The deployment of Soviet formations—which so far has caused the death of several unarmed Lithuanian citizens, to support the illegally formed so-called Lithuanian Committee of National Salvation in opposition to the government answerable to the freely elected Lithuanian Parliament—violates the most important international legal documents, namely the Helsinki Final Act, the document on the international convention on citizens' and political rights, and the Paris Charter. It seriously endangers the security of the region, and it could weaken international solidarity against the Iraqi aggression.

We Hungarians are especially shocked at the tragic historical parallel, that the Soviet Union, now too, just as in the case of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, is using the increasingly aggravated Middle East situation for the purpose of suppressing a people who are struggling for their freedom. In such circumstances, the presence of Soviet troops for months to come is unacceptable to us in Hungary.

In the situation that has evolved in the Baltics, the sole solution to the crisis would be if the Soviet Union immediately withdrew its forces of law and order from Lithuania and if it declared that it recognized the independent Baltic republics.

The National Assembly calls on the government of the Republic of Hungary to take the following steps:

1. The Government of the Republic of Hungary should officially recognize the independent Baltic republics, which were occupied on the basis of the Hitler-Stalin agreement that has since been condemned by the USSR's highest leadership, and it should take the necessary steps for the establishment of diplomatic relations with those states.

2. I ask for your special attention on this second point. The government of the Republic of Hungary should urge international solidarity in this matter—especially among the Central European countries—and it should begin talks on the declaration of the unilateral joint withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the Polish Republic, and the Hungarian Republic.

3. The Hungarian Government should take steps to coordinate humanitarian aid to be transported to independent Lithuania. Thank you. [applause]

Embassy in Baghdad Closes; Staff Leaves 15 Jan

AU1601100091

[Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 15 January, page 3, carries a 600-word report on a statement by Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman on the latest developments in Hungary's foreign policy, including the closure of the Hungarian Embassy in Baghdad, under the headline: "Our Embassy in Baghdad Is Suspending Operations."

NEPSZABADSAG reports that the Hungarian Embassy in Baghdad "has suspended operations since Monday, 14 January." NEPSZABADSAG notes that "all the staff at the Hungarian embassy left Iraq on Monday." The Foreign Ministry communique states that "this was done for the benefit of the employees' personal safety." NEPSZABADSAG also reports that "there are fewer and fewer Hungarians in the Gulf region," and that it was first "relatives who had been called back from Hungary's missions" in the area.

Defense Minister on Gulf Contingent, Lithuania

AU1501115791 Budapest MTI in English 1226 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, 14 Jan (MTI)—The 35-strong Hungarian medical team, mainly consisting of doctors, will

be stationed hundreds of kilometres behind the front line, should a war break out in the Gulf, Defence Minister Lajos Fur said in an interview with Monday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

"As opposed to the previous plan of joining the British Armed Forces, the team will be joining the Saudi forces. They have received training of a medical, psychological, political and military nature. Some of them have already worked in Arab territory" he says.

The defence minister indicated that he still held out hopes of war being avoided, and common sense coming to prevail over the Iraqi leadership.

"However determined or fanatical one may be, the leadership must retain some sense of military reality and realize that an eventual war might destroy the Iraqi Army and hundreds of thousands of others" Fur said.

With regard to Lithuania, Fur agrees that the events are not unlike what happened in Hungary in 1956, although the world has changed considerably since then, as have the internal conditions in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, there is the danger of regression, but it is hard to tell from Hungary where all this will eventually lead.

Lajos Fur, as a historian rather than a politician, believes the chances of a compromise are better now than in 1956, geared to loosely linking the Baltic peoples to the Soviet Union for some time to come, with the maintenance of their independence. It is conceivable that this period will be fixed, Lajos Fur said in his interview with Monday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

Ministries Deny Selling Arms to Croatia

AU1501124791 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 91 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Weapons for Croatia—Gossip"]

[Text] Budapest—Through its ministries of defense and of economic relations with foreign countries, Hungary denied Friday the claims made by Belgrade media that it had secretly sold arms to Croatia.

Colonel Gabor Morics, spokesman for the Defense Ministry, said that these reports were "in the style of a political joke." He said that a Hungarian foreign trade enterprise had sold a certain quantity of armament. "What was involved were not 36,000 machine guns and it was not Croatia," the Colonel told the Budapest evening daily ESTI HIRLAP. The paper, however, has learned from its unidentified sources that weapons were nevertheless sold, "albeit not to Yugoslavia, but to a third country via Yugoslavia."

Economic Minister Views Moscow CEMA Meeting

AU1501162591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jan 91 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar by Zsuzsa Gal in Budapest; date not given: "Bela Kadar: We Are Seeking A Compromise"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] In his exclusive interview to NEPSZABADSAG following his return from Moscow, Bela Kadar said that PRAVDA had published a false report on Saturday, a report which was instantly denied at the international news conference in Moscow. The Soviet daily claimed that the prime ministers of the CEMA member countries would meet in Sofia on 7 and 8 January to discuss the radical reorganization of this organization.

[Kadar] Of course, there is no such thing because we have now decided on creating a thoroughly new organization rather than carrying out a radical reorganization. We will probably invite Yugoslavia and Germany to our next meeting in February. There is now a broad consensus among the European member countries; therefore, Hungary's isolation, as well as its joint isolation along with the CSFR, and Poland have now ceased to exist. Both the representatives of the Soviet Union and of Bulgaria and Romania supported us at the recent meeting in Moscow.

[Gal] What about the fate of the Asian member countries?

[Kadar] In this area, too, the new organization will apply the norms of international economic cooperation. This means that, in their bilateral relations, the member countries can have preferential principles toward developing countries.

[Gal] What about the CEMA property?

[Kadar] This property will, of course, convey to the new organization. Of course the Moscow City Council demands a considerable chunk of this property.

[Gal] Will Hungary reconcile itself to the fact that the Soviet Union would repay its debts only within five years?

[Kadar] We stick to our view that this is not compatible with our interests, and we are seeking a compromise. Mr. Katushev promised to convey the Hungarian position to the Soviet Government. We have differences of views on both the extent and timing of payments. We regard the international monetary market interest rates as a guideline, and we do not agree with the Soviet intention to repay only a modest sum at the beginning of the aforementioned five-year period. Negotiations also continue about the withdrawal of troops, and bilateral meetings will soon commence on the level of experts, and then on the level of government commissioners. The economic negotiations on the financial consequences of the troops

withdrawal will develop according to the aforementioned negotiations, and these economic negotiations will be separated from the military talks.

[Gal] You also held separate talks with Soviet Deputy Premiers Gusev and Sitaryan. What was the subject of these talks?

[Kadar] Among other things, Mr. Gusev promised to help realize the private contract signed with the Hungarian bus company Ikarus by opening credit sources for the Soviet partner. We discussed our bilateral economic relations with Mr. Sitaryan. There is a certain rapprochement between the two positions, but this is not yet enough to sign a final agreement.

Foreign Ministry Official on African Relations

AU1501160191 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 8 Jan 91 p 2

[Interview with Gabor Sagi, deputy head of a main department at the Foreign Ministry, by Csaba Szerdahelyi; place and date not given: "Africa Is Not Far From Europe"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Everything indicates that we have professional Africa experts (for example, Mihaly Kupa worked in Angola as a financial adviser), but the public at large is rather amateurish concerning the affairs of the black continent. Most of us remember the big Hungarian hunting adventures at most, and we are very far from the reality. What are our relations with black Africa like indeed? We asked Gabor Sagi, who previously worked as a diplomat in Nigeria. [passage omitted]

[Szerdahelyi] There is one blank spot in our relations with Africa—namely, South Africa....

[Sagi] It is a fact that this country is a big economic and military power in the area. An increasing number of countries recognize its existence by establishing diplomatic relations. As a first step, we also established relations with South Africa on the level of offices representing each others' interests. We have opened the way for further negotiations, and a higher level of representation could emerge in the future. We should not forget that there are 20,000 people of Hungarian origin living in that country.

[Szerdahelyi] To what extent does Hungary accept a pioneering role in Central and Eastern Europe regarding diplomatic relations with South Africa?

[Sagi] Our pioneering role was clear-cut when we received South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha. There were risks in seeking contacts with South Africa, mainly because we have good relations with many black African countries. [passage omitted]

[Szerdahelyi] We are facing an extremely difficult economic year. It is less well known that there are also rich countries in Africa. Will we be able to cooperate with them?

[Sagi] In my view, Africa could continue to be a good market for our exports, and we could even increase our yearly exports which currently make up some $100 million. Although our financial prospects have partially deteriorated and may continue to do so, I hope we will not be facing a catastrophic drop in our trade. We, the people in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, think that we can—and perhaps even must—now activate the intellectual and financial capital we had previously invested in these countries. [passage omitted]

Tokes Book on Timisoara Siege Banned in Romania

AU1501155291

[Editorial Report] MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 7 January, page 2, carries a 600-word report by Dezso Abraham on the banning in Romania of Bishop Laszlo Tokes' new book, "The 1989 Siege of Timisoara," under the headline: "They Will Not Allow Tokes' Book Into Romania."

MAGYAR HIRLAP reports that "the author and the publishing company" of the aforementioned book, which recounts the events leading up to the 1989 Timisoara revolution, "had agreed to transport 10,000 copies of the book to Romania." MAGYAR HIRLAP reports, however, that "at the Romanian border, the transported books were sent back to Hungary" on three occasions.

MAGYAR HIRLAP notes that "the Romanian customs officials" informed the deputy bishop of Oradea, who was trying to take 1,600 copies of the book into Romania, that "as of 1 January 1991, a Romanian Government decree had come into force, whereby books could only be imported into Romania if the Hungarian 'State Secretariat for Religious Affairs' (which does not exist in Hungary) had previously asked the Romanian State Secretariat for Religious Affairs for permission."

MAGYAR HIRLAP points out that "this action of the Romanian Government is an infringement upon the Helsinki Agreement." Finally, MAGYAR HIRLAP reports that "at the beginning of next week, the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania is going to make an interpellation in the Romanian Parliament on this issue."

Parliamentarians Assess Lithuanian Situation

LD1501200291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] After a one-day stay, Senator Andrzej Celinski and deputies Krzysztof Dowgiallo and Adam Michnik have returned from Vilnius. Senator Celinski told journalists that in Poland martial law was introduced only by necessary and indispensable means to achieve specific aims. However, what has happened in Vilnius is a manifestation of a complete disproportion between the ends and the means used. People were murdered there just for the sake if murder. This did not give rise to paralyzing fear among the Lithuanians, Andrzej Celinski said. In the streets, enormous determination and dignity could be felt, perhaps also hatred toward the Soviets, but not fear. No one in Lithuania knows what the role of the army or of the KGB is and what political factors lie behind what happened. No one in Lithuania has any doubts that what is going on there is a struggle for power in the Soviet Union.

Skubiszewski Offers To Mediate Conflict

LD1501091991 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—The Polish Government learnt with great regret that force was used in Lithuania, said Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski after the meeting of the Council of Ministers. This is not the way to solve conflicts and frictions and we are especially sad that people have been killed and wounded.

From the moment of recognizing the declaration on Lithuanian independence, Poland has supported Lithuanian aspirations. We believed that Lithuania's independence should materialize through negotiations. The gaining of independence by Lithuania is a process. We know from our Polish experiences that independence cannot be gained either from day to day or even from year to year. On its way to independence Lithuania has our support within the frames of European security and preserving peace in our region. In this situation of conflict, Poland is ready to offer good services to Lithuania or mediation should both sides wish so, Skubiszewski said.

We had difficult relations with Lithuania in the past and we want the best possible relations now. On the other hand, relations with the USSR are of primary strategic significance for Poland, the Polish foreign minister added.

Protesters Demand Recognition of Baltics

LD1501052291 Warsaw PAP in English 2103 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14—"We demand that the Soviet Government immediately cease armed action in Lithuania and withdraw Soviet troops from the independent republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. . We ask the Polish Government to immediately confirm that Poland has and does acknowledge the independent republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia," reads a pettition which was circulated among participants of a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw today.

Several hundred representatives and supporters of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Polish Independence Party (PPN), the Freedom Party and Fighting Solidarity took part in the protest under slogans of "Freedom for Lithuania" and "Gorbachev Give Back the Nobel Prize."

A statement issued by independence organizations was read out supporting the right of the Baltic republics to self-determination and the freedom striving of their nations. It also appealed to the global community to actively back Lithuania. Red Banners were set alight and candles burnt.

Similar rallies were held in other Polish cities, among them in front of the Soviet consulate in Szczecin and Poznan, as well as in Wroclaw and Katowice. During a protest rally held in front of the Soviet consulate in Cracow, a group of young people showered the building with rocks and paint containers. Several windows were smashed. The police used water cannons to disperse the demonstrators.

Lithuania Said To Require Medicine, Food

LD1501104891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Statement by Jerzy Wuttke of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] I have spoken in Warsaw with the Polish deputy to the Lithuanian parliament, advocate Czeslaw Okinczyc, and Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas. They requested, above all, two kinds of gifts—medicine and medical supplies, and food. In association with the brutal Soviet intervention in the internal affairs of Lithuania, apart from the fatalities and the wounded there is, quite simply, hunger. Fundamental shortages of food are being felt. I wish to take this opportunity to say that the Western aid directed to the Soviet Union has so far bypassed Lithuania.

First Consignments of Aid Sent

LD1501105291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] The first consignments of charitable aid have already crossed the Polish-Lithuanian border at Ogrodniki. A truck with gifts from Suwalki and the parish of Punsk crossed over during the night, and in the morning two cars went with medicines and dressings sent by the Main Board of the Polish Red Cross in Warsaw. Traffic at the Ogrodniki crossing is being dealt with normally.

President Walesa Gives News Conference

LD1401093891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1903 GMT 14 Jan 91

[News conference by President Lech Walesa with unidentified moderator and reporters at Belweder Palace in Warsaw on 14 January—recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Over a month has passed since Lech Walesa was elected Polish president. Today we have the first chance for press, radio, and television journalists to meet with the president. Editor Maciej Lowicki will begin.

[Lowicki] Mr. President, I think I have to start with Lithuania. We are all moved by this situation, although we are not all surprised by it. We are worried that this situation is reminiscent of 1938—Munich, later Yalta—that is, we are on the verge of something. If we do not stop the aggressor, it will end up very badly for all of us. You, bound by the Polish raison d'etat, do you not think the way should be barred to the aggressor in a most determined way?

[Walesa] I like even chances; four to one is not an even chance. You have suprised me by saying that I have been president for a month. I would like to point out that this includes no more than 10 working days—this includes the problem with the government and the Sejm's verification of the ministers, which means that really I have had only about three working days as president. During this period I have done a bit, but I am not pleased with myself. I should have done more. But now we will return to Lithuania.

Today I attended the meeting of the Council of Ministers where this matter was discussed. We must act logically, correctly, and effectively. I hear various statements, number 300-odd or 150-odd. [sentence as heard] I am for effective action. In this connection I shall, in my own time, behave in a manner dictated by Polish patriotism and good-neighborly relations.

[Reporter] Mr. President, you declared that there would be acceleration but a slow-down has occured. We now have a new government. What are we to expect?

[Walesa] The slow-down was not because of me; it resulted from democracy; that is, Parliament extended the verification of ministers. As far as I am concerned, I have signed at least six bills in this period, but I had to examine them. Now we are taking stock and I am horrified by the enormity of Polish property and the lack of respect for it. In this regard, the work is less visible but we are doing it. I hope that when the time comes we shall show how much we have done.

[Reporter] Another question. Poland needs acceleration and economic transformations: Should you not start purging some of the bad phenomena in the Republic? I have in mind here such things as settling accounts with the nomenklatura, because these things have not been explained conclusively.

[Walesa] The problems of settling accounts, of order, of acceleration—those are necessities and it will all be done in a clever way. I only once accelerated badly, when I was about 10-years-old, on my bike on a corner. I fell off. Many times later in various vehicles I accelerated where it was necessary, but where it was too dangerous I did not try to pick up speed. In line with the slogan, "I am wise with your wisdom, strong with your strength," I am going to accelerate depending on the public need. As of tomorrow I am beginning consultations with physical people; that is, I am going to meet with enterprises, institutions, immediately show the problems, the growth in recognition for peoples work, for many other such-...[incomplete sentence as heard]

[Reporter] People want to live better already.

[Walesa] People will live better because together we will make a better Poland. I am absolutely convinced of this.

[Reporter] Mr. President, are those kind of unexpected domestic visits, which we know from the past, perhaps no longer suitable for these times?

[Walesa] I think, however, I even [word indistinct] you today's meeting, [word indistinct] I think. I like to surprise, but to surprise from the point of view of surprising by good work, to choose a good place, without any preparations. As you know, my first pronouncement was to ban all kinds of welcome [ceremonies]—the giving of flowers, all those noisy speeches. I came here to do a job. As a result, I will not allow myself to be surprised and at the same time I am going to try to surprise.

[Reporter] Pardon me, but if I could, I would like to return to the matter of Lithuania for a moment. I think it was on Sunday that Czecholsovakia suggested a certain kind of coordination of policies among Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia on the Soviet actions in Lithuania, assuming even a joint withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Is the government of the Republic going to examine that proposition?

[Walesa] Naturally, that is the government's right. As I told you, we are going to try to act effectively. I have been winning victories for ten years and I think that on this subject we, together with public opinion, will be victorious peacefully.

[Reporter] Mr. President, after the 4 June [1989 elections], during the first weeks Solidarity was saying sorry for having won. It was evidently very distressed by this. Now many people regard the situation in a similar way after your victory. That is, were you shocked or perhaps a little surprised that you won? In any case, you did not do what was immediately expected of you. You were not thrilled by your victory. Why?

[Walesa] Because I know how much remains to be done. I did not try for victory to be pleased. I did it to (?select) certain work, certain necessities, certain sorting out. Because of this, logically one cannot act in a different

way. Of course, many different reasons need to be reconciled. Everyone knows the saying, one of many, that the point of view depends on the point of sitting. It is still current. This does not mean that I have or will cheat anyone. No. In my own time, I will try to resolve the problems, all that I have promised, but in a different time scale from the expected one.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I would like to return to my colleague's question. People in Poland still think the wrongs have not been righted yet and that this noble ideal of a thick line [cutting off the past from the present] contained a falsehood because this thick line also underscored the injustice in a way. But how can the victims of this injustice be compensated without harming anyone—this really is a dilemma. Who is to be forgiven and for what?

[Walesa] Let he who is without sin cast the first stone. Yes. I want to say that does not mean there will be no bringing to account. This does not mean that the nomenklatura enterprises will be allowed to thrive. This does not mean that the stolen property, particularly here in Warsaw, will not be returned. We shall achieve it all. But gentlemen, Krakow was not built in a day. We have just started. As I said, I have been a president for 10 days. I have never been a president before. Just to get to know all the doors is a problem, never mind to count it all up, to think it over, and to bring it to account. Everything promised during the electoral campaign—and more—I shall try to deliver for Poland.

[Reporter] The economic and political situation in Poland is difficult. Nobody, including the Polish president, is hiding that fact. Many enemies of Lech Walesa the president are saying: As we have a Parliament, why do we need the political council, a team of presidential advisers, and so on?

[Walesa] All, if we have a good look at it, will become necessary at the right moment and the right time and we shall modify our requests, demands, and solutions because one has to choose means and forces and possibilities given by life. In this connection we shall return to the concept of agreement. It must be realized, but in such a way that pluralism and democracy in Poland are built and bring results to all those with different views who have one and the same fatherland.

[Reporter] How do you see the cooperation between the political council, a team of advisers, with the Parliament and the government?

[Walesa] Of course everything is possible. It must be embodied in an iron law [word indistinct] must be improved. It must not be the substitution of the government or the Parliament. Conflicts must be foreseen and, so to speak, put in order. We are in a position to do what is necessary at this difficult time when one must argue about which political and economic proposals are best for Poland. Nobody must be excluded. Everyone who is excluded from the game will weaken our strength. In tune with this: for whom the bell tolls?

[Reporter] I will say it straight: Accusations are being made from various sides that you are creating a supergovernment, in the sense of political supervision over the government. This was confirmed, and people said that power would be transferred to the Belweder Palace. What would you say to that?

[Walesa] Well, I do not want to participate in this supergovernment. I took it on myself to look for solutions. And my search may not always be correct. I am ready to argue whether at this time, when there is no fully democratically-elected Parliament, when many groupings—large and small—are outside the Parliament, when the roundtable which I helped create was for those times an ideal, good, and great achievement, so there are now many such forces which do not take an active part in the reforms. [sentence as heard] For those forces, for those groupings, and to encourage Poles to take their homeland into their own hands, one needs to create a platform so that they can participate and present their point of view, or their point of control. I am the president so that I can create conditions without prejudging anything, without forcing anyone to anything. I will look for, I will search. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] Are we to understand that the presidential council will not be a permanent body but only a transitional body until the parliamentary elections are held?

[Walesa] I would go even further in my considerations: Before it is created we shall say how far and what task it is to fulfill. Having fulfilled [the task], it dissolves. It cannot be otherwise, so that conditions for usucaption are not created.

[Reporter] Mr. President, personal issues are important. In the fall, during the election campaign, people who had been active in other organizations—often without a very high opinion of them—joined various, let us say, pro-Walesa organizations, hoping no doubt that they would be able to make their careers with President Walesa. To put it bluntly, do you have any system of defense, Mr. President, and do you know how to get rid of those people trying to ingratiate themselves with you?

[Walesa] I will remind you of what I have said many times: If I were a conductor and my wife did not have a ticket, I would not let her on the tram. That is my character, and I have not come here to create the conditions for myself or anyone else to be able to run some kind of private affair here and not solve problems. It will not happen here. Every careless movement, every movement which indicates that someone is making a career and not solving problems, is for me unmistakably a case for taking my leave of whoever is trying to do it. There have already been a few such farewells—you know them.

[Reporter] Yes, you are well known for your good farewells. But, Mr. President, you cannot avoid the question about the press. Could one say that you think that the press is the basis of freedom and demoracy? One of the most important functions of the press, the mass

media, television, is to criticize the government and also yourself. Do you agree? No authority likes criticism. What is your attitude?

[Walesa] I am very fond of criticism. It is my imperative for the hygiene [as heard] of both the authorities and the system. That is why I am going to create special conditions for splendid critics, and so today I am looking for premises for one of the most splendid critics, Jan Pietrzak. I will find some even if I have to give up the Belweder Palace, because he deserves it by having fought for the hygiene of behavior in Poland.

[Reporter] We are going to hold you to your word, that you like criticism. But I also wanted to ask a second question right away: In view of this, you will help the Association of Polish Journalists in organizing this free press, because so far that help on the part of the government and mass media...

[Walesa, interrupting] Whatever lies in the competency of the president, whatever I can do, yes, at once willingly. I am ready to serve at once if something comes within my competency, whatever I can do to [word indistinct].

[Reporter] Thank you for that statement.

[Reporter] You have announced trips around Poland. I have a question: As you are going to visit enterprises, factories, and small towns—small places where there are many supporters of your competitor, Stan Tyminski—what are you going to have to offer these fans of Stan Tyminski during these meetings?

[Walesa] I am going to ask what they want from the president to transfer their votes precisely to me. I am ready for arguments, for a fight with arguments. I am ready to prove by my work, by my behavior, that I want to faithfully serve all I have promised. But I have the possibilities that I have. I will allow everyone in who can check (?me) out, no matter what they look like, that there is no ill will or imperfection on my part. I think that I will win on arguments, but if not then I will concede that they are right and allow in those who are right.

[Reporter] Many of your political enemies claim that you are forming the political council as a substitute for Parliament. A suplementary question: How long should this council last?

[Walesa] I have proved many times that I know demagogy when I see it. I would be able to build a political force supporting these directions and would win the parliamentary elections but this would be a concept of elimination. I am banking on something else, on the fact that I need all Poles for the common work of the construction of Poland, honest Poles, who agree with concepts, who do not give up their solutions but join in the Polish construction. That is why I am looking for solutions with everyone.

Of course, criminals, tricksters, and hustlers will be brought to justice. You can only cheat once—even Walesa can be cheated, although most of the time this fails. In this connection I am not going for competition. In this connection; I will not use force and will not do what you are suggesting, because I do not want force. I want to be strong by the participation of everyone—even great enemies—where Poland is concerned. We can fight about who can do it better or who has a wiser program or who identifies with some ideals.

[Reporter] How long should the political council last?

[Walesa] At the moment I am looking for the key to include all the forces so they do not lose their individuality. If we find the key—if they find the key—this key will give the answer when all the extraparliamentary forces, which did not participate in the roundtable, are admitted so we can find a good date for parliamentary elections. Not in the street, however, not by shouting; just nonparliamentary forces with parliamentary forces in some way, create in some way, the date that is best for Poland and go for this date. That is the first thing. Then conduct a campaign within the framework of decency, Central Europe—where we are—and the intellectual level of Polish society. That is supervision in some way, agreeing on how we fight, because it would be nice if we were an example for Central Europe. If this could be achieved, one of the items will be when to dissolve ourselves—when we get this subject sorted out. We shall get nicely through the elections; we shall not be needed because we tackled the elections in a cultured way. One should say one more month with the new Parliament, for instance, so when it makes decisions and constructs, it will be necessary to keep an eye on things so that nobody disturbs. [sentence as heard] Maybe this way I am not prejudging because there are no deadlines. That is not my purpose; my purpose is to regulate the needs and the capabilities of this country. I am a regulator, as I have said many times, and I also want to perform this task well. I cannot prejudge because there are different opinions here, as well as different reasons. My job is to select the best ones along with society.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what is your opinion about Polish society? Are the Poles a politicking nation or not? What kind of nation is easier to be lead?

[Walesa] One must remember, according to me, we do not differ from others, we just have different conditions, different conditioning. In different circumstances, however, we adapt very quickly and I think that with this society, with which I have been struggling for 20 years—and 10 years visibly—great, great goals can be achieved. It is simply necessary, every day, every hour, to be up to date and be with society, to listen, help, select and not to disregard. If this happens, then after our experiences of the communist system, we can achieve great results.

[Reporter] Mr. President, the majority artists and creative circles supported Prime Minister Mazowiecki. I think that these circles are still afraid of you. Please answer me frankly: Are you not a bit suspicious of them?

[Walesa] No! Where did this come from? I understand it. After all, we said that this time we are not banking on the

proletariat but on wisdom, professionalism, and so on. The president is from the proletariat and he goes to where there is the great intelligentsia and great people and wants to be a president. In Polish conditions there are these abnormalities. I understand it; I understand that I may be an example which is not educational, that someone, great doctors of philosophy—that is why people are learning, to achieve. [sentence as heard] This is how it happened, Polish reasons, abnormal reasons. That is why one can see that many educated and wise people can be displeased, because why did they learn? Not to be a president, right? This is not the point. If we behave like the civilizations of Western democracy then what we have on paper will not be so significant because we shall demonstrate what we can do, how we can do it, and what force we represent. My abnormality [nienormalnosc] in this transitional period is, therefore, striking and can cause dissatisfaction. In the future, however, all of this will be normal and we shall get used to each other.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] when do you think things will really get better, in a psychological sense, so we gain some real hope and things really get better materially? What do you really think?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, we really do have a free Poland. In truth, however, everybody does his own thing. Really, when I come forward with this proposal of the political council, when I say that we score our own goals, the whole bureaucracy, people come with their pensions, with certificates, with pass permits, rubber stamps—there is no progress. The whole thing calls for action. So basically it depends on us; it depends on our understanding of the thing when it gets better. In this country there are huge possibilities in every respect, but we were blocked, badly governed. One has to improve this, and I have a desire to improve it with you.

[Reporter] Exactly, but how to stimulate people into action? What to do with this? Because we will not build much on confidence itself.

[Walesa] We have said many times that nobody is eager to come [to rallies], that they only go to church. They do not come to any rallies, they are not interested in Poland. I have proved to you that during my rallies halls were overcrowded. Of course, [words indistinct]. Well, I had to appoint a prime minister. I had to create an agreement so we could have this prime minister, so he could be accepted; following the acceptance of the prime minister came the ministers, to reconcile the new parties, old parties, and political struggles.

People do not see this and this is very difficult. This one had two ministers, the other had the prime minister. This one did not want to agree on a minister, and that one did not want the prime minister; the other one makes things difficult. So we have overcome very efficiently this difficult and obscure period. There were only four votes against. So, at this historic moment of democracy, it is a great achievement. Now the government will rule. They have their first session today. I have a free hand in looking for lost hopes or lost opportunities.

I must also perform other roles, but I go out into the country and start looking at why there is such a huge administration, why people cannot have their affairs sorted out in local government offices, why the State Insurance Bureau does not deal with pensions, why there are so many people who take money, who pays for it, who steals from a farmer, why dairies do not pay money. All of this will be dealt with—it must be dealt with. [Words indistinct].

Therefore, I also have an idea that every large office will employ an extra person and he will monitor everyone who leaves, and will ask: Did you settle what you wanted here? If the person did not, he would be sent back to the same window. If he is not dealt with positively and someone else leaves for the second time, then the lady [sitting behind it] will no longer be necessary. Organizational charts in every bureau, in every institution, who does what, and we will look at them: Well, there are lines at this window, and no line at the other, so go over there, you are needed there. Speedy actions, more independence to regions. In this country there must be [word indistinct].

[Reporter] Let us hope we succeed.

[Walesa] Ah, that is what we have a president for in this country.

[Reporter] One other important problem, but from a completely different field. People speak loudly, demand loudly: the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland

[Walesa] Yes, and I also demanded that. I demand it and I hope that this process can be arranged as quickly as possible within the boundaries of decency and logic. I am... [changes thought] Those were my slogans also, my slogans resulting from public needs. I intend to do much on this subject.

[Reporter] What is going to happen with the Soviet Union, which threatens us but at the same time should be our partner?

[Unidentified speaker] It also threatens itself.

[Walesa] As the first politician, it still will not be to my disadvantage today. [sentence as heard] Some two years ago I said that the Soviet Union had the only chance to dissolve itself and to re-form anew on the principles of freedom, democracy, and pluralism, to bind itself together as it would be impossible to have a vacuum here. It is going in that direction. I know all the nations have to regain freedom, and they are regaining it. It is not a problem. It is not a result of Walesa's or Gorbachev's whims. It is the result of development, of computers, (?satellites), television, etc. Thus we will achieve it, but the problem is [passage indistinct] the problem is only the price and time we will lose. As a result of this, these processes will be at a price—let us

hope as low as possible. If we are wise they will not cost much. I heard here about a demonstration, even about Lithuania.

Listen, we can shout, but let us just add it up: Poland has 13 divisions against 69. My dear boy, we have to take all the arguments into consideration; we must win, but to win it has to be done wisely in relation to the age we are living in, peacefully, in agreement, by compromise, but a healthly compromise—not on our knees. It will all be achieved but let us not be accused of cowardice. Let us calculate it.

[Reporter] Let us look still at the future. One question from me: When will Poland get into Europe?

[Walesa] Poland is in Europe, except that for me—as I said during the campaign—the problem was whether we would succeed in joining Poland in its entirety, all those enterprises, the unprofitable ones, to Europe. Is there such a chance? Can we afford it? And I came to the conclusion then that it was only possible singly, that is, maximum economic freedom should be given to the public, and it will avoid being joined to, for example, Sony, Mercedes, Ford, and others. And in that way we are going to look for a connection by thousands of ideas of private (?enterprise)—and we are splendid privately. Here we have marvellous people, and in this manner (?we will manage) to get hold of possible solutions and the rest we will push through at a later period.

[Reporter] You said a moment ago that you have been carrying out the functions of president formally for several days, but nonetheless a month has passed and you have come into contact with many problems. Can you say today which pre-election promises you are not going to be able to keep?

[Walesa] I will keep them all, everything. And at least twice as many. Of course, some of them are difficult; for example, tax on above-normative payments [popiwek]. Some people already shout at me: Why has he forgotten?, etc. No, gentlemen. This tax in my version, and I will ask the government, will be in more or less the following form; that is, wherever there is more production there will be no popiwek. On the other hand, wherever they try to strike at public with prices, popiwek will have to remain because otherwise we score our own goals. And so, wherever production is bigger, payments should be bigger. Where they do not manufacture but increase prices, there (?must) be a break. They cheat us. And deceit must not be allowed. And Lech Walesa will agree to such a tax; such a tax is necessary. On the other hand, every other stupid solution will be changed, because I cannot bear stupidity and I will ask the government for help so that stupidity does not reign in this country.

[Reporter] Mr. President, previous governments were characterized by the fact that they defended their own people, their administration. Can you promise us that Solidarity people, if they prove to work badly, will be dismissed even faster than others, only to prove that you would not tolerate it?

[Walesa] Already, before the appointment, if there are such indications. They will be dismissed before the appointment, you can be sure of that. Because Poland is at stake, our children. Because the issue is that Solidarity means reform, honesty, an example, and not fraud, not deceit, not mafia games. I did everything to get this place so I could keep an eye on it. And I will.

[Reporter] I think the time has come to thank you and to wish you success in all that you speak about. [passage indistinct]

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I do not have any doubts. Of course I need help, I need organization, and I need information. Wherever there is evil, I will be there.

[Reporter] And, in conclusion, one more concrete question: Is there a chance to limit unemployment in Poland in 1991 as well as an attempt to liquidate recession?

[Walesa] Poland cannot afford unemployment. You must not talk about unemployment. We have so much to do, but the question is how to start it. I am thinking about this, and I ask how to start it. Poland cannot afford unemployment. There is no question about unemployment. Of course, there may be a hygienic one, there may be some penalties for slackers and others, but in general we cannot afford unemployment. If there were twice as many Poles, we would not do the job that needs to be done.

[Reporter] Mr. President, thank you very much. I hope that such meetings will be repeated. We count on it.

[Walesa] I am ready. I have only started, but just listen: You started on the subject of Lithuania, you [word indistinct] statements, one shouting over another. But I do not always...I do not always manage...There are many problems, but as the government has started working I think that I may hinder you and society.

More on Council of Ministers Inaugural Meeting

LD1501092691 Warsaw PAP in English 2244 GMT 14 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 14—The Council of Ministers today held an inaugural meeting attended by President Lech Walesa. Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki presided over a discussion of the developments in Lithuania and in the Persian Gulf.

Prime Minister Bielecki said he believed that the foundation of Polish success would be a reasonable programme accepted by the people for one thing and in its skillful implementation for another.

"This is why I want us so much to be able to cooperate as a team, as people understanding one another, who want to succeed and are aware of responsibility for their tasks."

Addressing the ministers President Lech Walesa congratulated them on their being appointed and said "from

now on you are the steersmen of the state, you have a historic mission to fulfil. I wish you success. Poland badly needs this success."

"From the month-long perspective as president I can say that I am shocked by the waste of money and human effort in many central institutions of the state. While demanding sacrifice from the nation we should set highest requirements to ourselves. Let us have respect for the ordinary man who pays taxes," Walesa said.

"We are all moved by the situation in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia today. Our neighbours struggle for their inalienable right—for independence. The only question is when and for what price they will get it. The changes of worldwide character cannot be averted. I will, therefore, most attentively watch the developments in the region understanding all the fighting sides," Walesa said.

Having analysed the developments in the Lithuanian republic, the Council of Ministers unequivocally adopted a declaration. The Council of Ministers also decided to:

1. Maintain the present official relations with the legally elected organs of the Lithuanian republic.

2. Summon the Polish ambassador to Moscow for consultations.

3. Order the government administration organs to support all forms of humanitarian aid for the people of Lithuania.

4. Form a working inter-ministerial group in the Foreign Ministry to analyse the situation and make recommendations in connection with the developments in the Baltic republics.

The Council of Ministers also asked the Polish people to refrain from illegal actions against Soviet missions in Poland.

Further in the debate the cabinet focused on the Gulf crisis, its political, military, economic, and humanitarian aspects.

By way of a respective resolution, the ministers instituted an office of government plenipotentiary for the foreign debt to be responsible for negotiations and coordination of financial relations with government and private creditors as well as international finance organizations. He will also supervise handling of the external debt.

Nationals Evacuate Embassy, Leave Baghdad

LD1501201691 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] The last remaining foreigners are leaving Iraq. According to a report by our correspondent Andrzej Korybut- Daszkiewicz from Baghdad, Polish Ambassador Krsysztof Plominski, together with staff from our missions, left the Iraqi capital this afternoon. The Polish convoy is proceeding toward the Turkish border where it will meet with 36 employees of the Dromex enterprise, who are also leaving the country. Only one Iraqi citizen, who is employed there, remains in our embassy.

Envoy Says Israel Does Not Intend To Fight

LD1501184891 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 15—Israeli Ambassador to Poland Miron Gordon sent to PAP a statement on the Persian Gulf conflict saying:

The state of Israel does not consider itself a participant in any way in the conflict in the Persian Gulf.

The state of Israel wants the conflict to be settled and the results of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait eliminated without the use of weapons. Being no party to the conflict, Israel does not interfere with the decisions of the states-members of the anti-Iraqi coalition.

In case of the outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf, Israel has no intention to take part in military actions.

At the same time Israel warns that it will have to react if it is attacked by Iraq.

Biographies of New Ministers Presented

AU1501124491 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 12—Following are brief profiles of cabinet members appointed today by the Sejm:

Leszek Balcerowicz (deputy premier and finance minister), 44, graduate of the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics. Between 1981-82 he was deputy chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Economic Society. In 1981 he was Solidarity consultant in a number of leading Polish enterprises. He is a member of the Committee of Economic Sciences at the Polish Academy of Science, of the Polish Sociological Society, Polish Economic Society and the European Economic Society. On September 13, 1989, entrusted with the post of deputy prime minister and minister of finance. He was the architect of the restructuring and stabilization programme implemented in the Polish economy.

Michal Boni (minister of labor and social policy) 37, graduate of the Polish philology department of Warsaw University. In December 1989 he was elected chairman of the Mazowsze chapter of Solidarity. Member of Solidarity's National Commission and member of the union's presidium since the 2nd Solidarity congress.

Wieslaw Chrzanowski (minister of justice), 67, professor of law, chairman of the Christian-National Union. He started to cooperate with opposition groups in the 1970's. In 1980, he was a co-author of the first statute of the Solidarity trade union and represented the union during registration proceedings. He was an adviser to the Mazowsze Solidarity Chapter. After the imposition of

martial law he was a member of the primate's Social Council and adviser to the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland.

Adam Glapinski (minister of spatial development and construction), 41, economist, employed at the department of economics at the Warsaw School of Planning and Statistics. Solidarity member since 1980. In 1989, he was a member of the Warsaw Citizens Committee. He is a member of the political council of the Center Alliance and coordinator of the alliance's economic commission. Member of the Warsaw board of the Liberal-Democratic Congress.

Robert Glebocki (minister of national education), 51, professor, astrophysicist, lecturer at Gdansk University. In 1980, he represented the university on the strike committee at the Gdansk shipyard. In June 1989 he became chairman of Solidarity's National Coordinating Commission for Education. He took active part in the work of the Social Committee for Science.

Jerzy Eysymontt (head of the Central Planning Office), 54, economist, specialist in statistics and econometrics. In 1980 he took part in the drafting of Solidarity's economic programme. He was an adviser to the union's National Commission. He was a co-author of the Center Alliance's economic program and is a member of the Center's Political Council.

Piotr Kolodziejczyk, 51, vice-admiral, the hitherto minister of defense. Since 1983, chief of staff of the Polish Navy, later on commander-in-chief of the Polish Navy and chief of the Main Board of Education of the Polish Army. He is a Sejm deputy.

Dariusz Ledworowski (minister of foreign economic relations), 42, economist, appointed vice-minister of foreign trade in October 1989. From 1980, he worked at the Institute of Economic Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He was an expert on foreign trade in the Economic Consultative Council headed by Prof. Czeslaw Bobrowski. He represented Poland in negotiations on new principles of settlements with the CEMA countries. He also conducted negotiations with the FRG and the former GDR on economic effects of the unification of Germany. He is a member of the Solidarity union.

Janusz Lewandowski (minister of ownership transformations), 39, economist, graduate of Gdansk University. Solidarity activist since 1980, the union's economic adviser. Co-creator of the Polish Liberal-Democratic Congress. Chairman of the Congress since June 1990. In 1988, together with Jan Szomberg, he prepared a concept of privatization, which has been included in the current government program. Co-founder of a Gdansk private institute for studies on market economy and ownership rights.

Henryk Majewski (minister of internal affairs), 39, graduate of the Higher Technical School in Gdansk. Solidarity member since August 1980 strikes, arrested in 1984 for underground activities and released after six months. He was dismissed from his post of assistant lecturer at Gdansk Higher Technical School to return back there after roundtable talks. Three months ago he was appointed voivodship police chief in Gdansk.

Maciej Nowicki (minister of environmental protection, natural resources, and forestry), 50, graduate of Warsaw's Higher Technical School, expert in the field of protection against air pollution. In October 1989, appointed undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources, and Forestry. Solidarity member since 1980. Currently, he is a member of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD).

Wladyslaw Sidorowicz (minister of health and social welfare) 46, psychiatrist. In the years 1980-81, coorganizer of the structures of Solidarity's Coordinating Commission. Wroclaw Solidarity Chapter's delegate to the 1st Solidarity Congress. Participant in the roundtable talks. He is the chairman of Solidarity's national health care section.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski (minister of foreign affairs) 65, professor of law, foreign minister in Mazowiecki's cabinet. Since 1973, professor at the State and Law Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, an expert on international law, author of a number of papers in this field. Between 1981-84, he was a member of the primate's Social Council and member of the Consultative Council attached to the president of the Council of State in the years 1986-89. Solidarity member since October 1980.

Marek Rostworowski (minister of culture and art) graduate of the Jagiellonian University. In 1948, he started to work at the museum of the Czartoryski family as a curator. He prepared a number of outstanding exhibitions, including "Polakow Portret Wlasny" (Poles' Own Portrait), "Niebo Nowe i Ziemia Nowa" (New Sky and New Soil), for which he received a Solidarity award, and an exhibition titled "Zydzi Polscy" (Polish Jews). He was a co-founder of the Malopolska Solidarity chapter, member of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee.

Jerzy Slezak (minister of communications), 52, communications engineer. In the years 1982-90, he was vice-voivode of the Bialystok province. On September 14, 1990, the Sejm appointed him minister of communications.

Adam Tanski (minister of agriculture and food economy), 45, graduate of Warsaw's Main School of Farming. In 1973 started to work at the Finance Ministry. In July 1990 he was appointed undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy. He was a Solidarity member in the years 1980-81. In 1983, he cooperated with the organizational committee of the Agricultural Fund, with the Church Agricultural Committee and the Fund for the Supply of Water to Rural Areas.

Ewaryst Waligorski (minister of transport and maritime economy), 54, graduate of the Higher Technical School in Szczecin, in July 1990 appointed by the Sejm minister of transportation and maritime economy. From 1961 worked for the Polish State Railways. In 1981, he was elected member of the Presidium of the Western Pomerania Solidarity Chapter's board. He was chairman of the Solidarity national railwaymen's section till December 16, 1989. In May 1990, the Council of Ministers appointed him plenipotentiary for the reform in the Polish State Railways.

Krzysztof Zabinski (head of the Office of the Council of Ministers) 38, electronics specialist, graduate of Poznan Higher Technical School. Solidarity member since 1980. He was interned during martial law. Active in Solidarity's underground structures. He is a Sejm deputy, member of the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) and of the Center Alliance.

Andrzej Zawislak (minister of industry), 54, economist, professor, graduate of Warsaw University. He is a member of the Polish Economic Society. A long-time economic adviser to Solidarity authorities, activist of liberal movements, participant and signatory of the National Congress of Liberals.

Liberal-Democrat Comments on Microprivatization

AU1501150391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Jan Szomburg, founding member of the Liberal Democratic Congress and director of the Gdansk Institute of Market Economy and Ownership Research, by Malgorzata Pokojska; place and date not given: "We Accepted the Stabilization Program"]

[Excerpts] [Pokojska] Why did the Liberal Democratic Congress find itself in opposition to Mazowiecki's government? Did you not like Balcerowicz's program?

[Szomburg] I would not call our position opposition to Mazowiecki's government. We merely opted for Walesa as the better presidential candidate. We believe that Walesa, being a very practical person with a "political sixth sense," would be better for Polish democratic capitalism.

[Pokojska] How would you define your attitude toward the last government?

[Szomburg] We respect the achievements of Mazowiecki's government, especially in the first and most difficult period, although we did not always agree with its "philosophy" or style. As time went on, its effectiveness clearly declined. We always supported Leszek Balcerowicz's stabilization program. However, as for privatization, creation of conditions for the development of small enterprises and institutional infrastructures, and preparation of new cadres, these areas were neglected and the proposed solutions were not always well thought out. In other words, we liked the regulatory policies, but had reservations about the system policies.

[Pokojska] The Liberal Democratic Congress program puts great emphasis on microeconomics. You say that economic policy must be viewed through the spectrum of enterprises. Why is this?

[Szomburg] The roots of our philosophy reach back to August 1980. In Gdansk, a group of advisers on economic and social matters was formed around the "Solidarity" movement. Among others, there were people such as Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Janusz Lewandowski from Gdansk University. [passage omitted]

[Pokojska] Is that when you hit upon the slogan: "There is no freedom without ownership rights."

[Szomburg] About that time. Jacek Merkel thought that by building up an economic base, moving our people into all areas of economic life, and creating new economic structures—independent of the communists—one would be able to defeat them politically. In 1985, the cooperative "Doradca" (a consulting firm) was formed. Under its manager, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, it quickly became well known in Poland and abroad.

[Pokojska] For several years you have been specializing in the area of privatization. What is your view of the results achieved by Mazowiecki's government?

[Szomburg] I am very critical of them. I think the most serious error was that this was delayed, its importance underestimated, and above all, there was a lack of a serious concept for privatizing small trade, service, and manufacturing firms. This would have been the most direct route to beating recession and accelerating restructuring processes. [passage omitted]

[Pokojska] Where did the government go wrong with this so-called "small" privatization?

[Szomburg] In the first place, it should have adopted a regional and not a sector approach to medium and small enterprises. It should have made preparations and set up regional privatization agencies long ago. These would have paved the way for this process.

[Pokojska] What advantages does the regional approach have?

[Szomburg] First, it allows closer links between privatization and de-monopolization, namely, creation of competition. On privatization, regional agencies will be much more prepared to split up enterprises than existing sector agencies. Moreover, a regional approach ensures more advantageous sales transactions. Regional decisionmakers are better informed about the state of local markets and business.

[Pokojska] But there has been some delegation of privatization powers.

[Szomburg] Yes, it was delegated to municipalities in relation to enterprises whose ownership has been handed over to them. Out of 1,700 such enterprises, about half are enterprises that were state-owned, functioning according to general principles, and have nothing to do with the local economy. One could say, classic market enterprises. Delegating privatization powers over such enterprises to the boards of municipalities was a serious misconception.

[Pokojska] Why?

[Szomburg] It is against the principle of rational organization. Each municipality that has at least one such enterprise will have to learn how a privatization body functions. We will lose all the benefits of functional specialization and advantages that come through scale. Thus, the total lack of professional know-how married to total decisionmaking power on the one hand, and on the other, lack of democratic control mechanisms over local authorities, will combine to create a situation that is ripe for confusion and abuses. The transfer of property at substantial undervaluation will be an all too frequent occurrence.

[Pokojska] Do you fear property fraud?

[Szomburg] Not only that. The second weakness of delegating privatization into the hands of the municipality is the fact that it is quite probable that it will not be conducive to the creation of a market. The interests of the municipality may be disparate from the requirements for competition and de-monopolization. It will not be to the municipality's advantage to split up a large conglomerate enterprise with its head office in the municipality because the individual and privatized units situated elsewhere will no longer pay tax to the municipality. This tax element may also play a large role when it comes to choosing potential clients. A non-local client may run into discrimination. We could witness a tendency to put a brake on privatization. Privatization to build up a market must be implemented on an intramunicipality level (i.e. Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia) but, as mentioned above, we lack the institutional back-up for such an approach.

[Pokojska] Namely, regional privatization agencies.

[Szomburg] Correct. But given the complexity and difficulty of the whole process, I think mistakes are unavoidable. But most important is that we have an opportunity to commit them and that we really are on the road towards a normal economic system which will bring us freedom and prosperity.

Wroclaw State Protection Chief Interviewed

PM1601091991 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 19 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Ryszard Nowakowski, head of the State Protection Office Wroclaw bureau, by Robert Rozycki; place and date not given: "Mafia, Terrorism, Foreign Agents, Narcotics, and Protection of State Secrets: Shroud of Mystery Lifted from State Protection Office"]

[Text] [Rozycki] You have held your present post since July? Where were you employed before?

[Nowakowski] All heads of local bureaus came to the State Protection Office [UOP] from outside the internal affairs sector. I was previously employed as a lecturer at the Mechanized Troops Higher Officer College [WSOW-Zmech] and my specialized field was army reconnaissance. As a didactician, I was also interested in methods of operation employed by intelligence services. Perhaps this was the reason why Minister Kozlowski proposed my name for the post.

[Rozycki] The UOP still carries the stigma of allegedly constituting a continuation of the former Security Service [SB]. To what extent is this true?

[Nowakowski] The SB was definitively disbanded and the UOP has nothing to do with that institution. We have distanced ourselves from those people and the methods they used.

[Rozycki] What about your relations with the police?

[Nowakowski] They constitute a somewhat different order and operate within a different subordination structure. Naturally, we take advantage of the police communications network and technical facilities. Throughout the world the work of institutions such as the UOP rests on cooperation with the police, the military police, the counterintelligence service, and the border guard services.

[Rozycki] This suggests that you are not self-sufficient, does it not?

[Nowakowski] I believe that it will take a long time yet before we achieve self-sufficiency. Computerization, which is so essential in our work, requires high budgetary outlays, and we simply do not have the money. The UOP is not regarded as an institution with a priority status.

[Rozycki] Perhaps we could return to the subject of your connection with the traditional SB activities...

[Nowakowski] Sir, we do not have departments assigned to deal with the church, or handle intelligence questions. No former SB employees from those sectors have been given work in our office—not even those who have undergone the security vetting scheme with positive results. True, some 30 percent of our personnel were previously employed in the former SB's Section II, that is, the counterintelligence service. I do not hide this fact. However, our office structure has had to be completely rearranged, or, rather, set up again virtually from scratch. Other sectors did not have to undergo such wholesale changes.

[Rozycki] Well, then, what kind of things do you actually handle?

[Nowakowski] Foreign service agents are only one aspect of our work. We are also interested in organized crime based on mafia-type structures (this includes both Polish groups and foreign groups operating inside Poland), terrorism, and the narcotics trade; and we also deal with the protection of state secrets. We are only interested in political organizations insofar as they are involved in any way with terrorism. And another thing: The UOP is not divided into separate departments. We assign particular cases to be handled by appointed persons or teams.

[Rozycki] And what would such cases involve?

[Nowakowski] We are dealing with many cases, but you should not expect me to give you any concrete information about them. Our brief is to carry out specific tasks assigned to us by the Prosecutor General's Office and to gather "advance" information on any potential danger. We also play the role of an information agency; that is, we anticipate, gather, assemble, and process information relevant to or potentially affecting state security and we pass it on to interested consumers. We do not protect or shield anyone—apart, of course, from the state itself.

[Rozycki] How many personnel are employed in the Wroclaw bureau?

[Nowakowski] I cannot divulge this information. However, I can tell you that we have certain difficulties with recruiting personnel. Well, we are not competitive enough in the labor market. Health and fitness criteria are essential. We have many applicants who fail to be passed by our medical commission. I can also tell you, as an intriguing fact, that many women are interested in working for us. However, our job specifications pose very high requirements. I can also tell you that our officers do not carry weapons.

[Rozycki] Do you make use of information supplied by informers and confidential agents?

[Nowakowski] State institutions are obliged, by virtue of the relevant laws, to provide us with information. Apart from this, the UOP can make use of assistance provided by the public (that is, we can consult citizens employed outside the UOP as experts and specialists in the given field), and we can pay compensation for the services rendered. All this is specified in the relevant parliamentary act.

[Rozycki] Are you hoping that the popular opinion about the UOP will change?

[Nowakowski] I do believe that it should eventually change, though I also realize that our work is not properly noticed by the public. Well, we have not exactly been pampered by the press: They have been afraid to praise our work; in fact, it has been almost in vogue to attack the UOP. I think that it will all change now. After all, we also use the services of journalists. They can reach anywhere...

[Rozycki] I am not with you. Are you suggesting that there are journalists in your service?

[Nowakowski] I am merely talking about the so-called "white intelligence." Our fundamental brief is to scan the papers. After all, some 70 percent of intelligence data is gathered in this way throughout the world. Why should we not avail ourselves of this opportunity?

[Rozycki] Well, I wish you fruitful reading and thank you for talking to us.

Commentary Accents Realism in Bielecki Speech

AU1501144691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Dariusz Fikus commentary: "Objectively and to the Point"]

[Text] The Sejm speech made by [Prime Minister] Jan Bielecki was not at all flashy. It was a simple list of problems that the new government faces and it highlighted some of the most pressing matters that need attention. The content becomes much clearer from a rereading of the original text, because the new prime minister is not a brilliant speaker. He was also clearly nervous and read out his speech in a monotonous voice. On rereading the text, the speech appears objective and to the point.

Looking back to August 1989, when the Sejm was accepting the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government, one was conscious that a new chapter of history was about to begin. Today, we realize that we find ourselves on a difficult road, and it is no longer a question of changing a system but of giving our new freedom a more clear and precise shape, namely, "to give the reforms a new impetus." The new government is taking office to shape the new freedom and give its political and economic aspect a clearer shape, said the prime minister.

Bielecki speaks not as an ideologist, but as a pragmatist. He is interested in the ways this regained freedom can be managed best. That is why his speech was full of specific references to problems we have grappled with for over a year. If we want to privatize, then we should also determinedly encourage the "small" privatization parallel to the "large" one. If we want to stimulate housing construction, then we must also consider making sufficient mortgage financing available.

In a later television discussion I participated in, we tried to analyze just how much of the prime minister's economic program is new and how much is a continuation of the last government's program. I think we could clearly distinguish both.

The problems arise from the scale of the undertaken reforms, namely, the fight with inflation, the creation of a market economy, ownership changes, and industrial policy. Bielecki suggests that we abandon a strict textbook approach and become more pragmatic. Bielecki

would not be a true liberal if he had not added: "acting in one's interest and at one's risk."

The first commentaries around the world have focused on the elements of his speech that speak of opening Poland to the world, encouraging foreign investment, and the complex issue of Poland's indebtedness. It is important that signals emanating from Poland are properly understood. We are in Europe and want to be fully involved.

Bielecki was applauded most strongly when he talked about the new government's agricultural policy. Perhaps this applause tried to sw[illegible]ten the bad impression created previously, when at th[illegible]me Bielecki's candidacy was put to the vote in the Sejm, 58 deputies, most of whom were from the Polish Peasant Party, voted against his candidacy. Does this mean that the government's agricultural policy has been accepted by the farmers themselves? I doubt it. The applause came after the phrase that stated that the government "will effectively protect our farmers against unfair foreign competition and artificially low priced agricultural imports." Will these postulates—very specific in themselves—be acceptable to the farmers?

The composition of the new government shows that it has a certain continuity and on the other hand it is a new quantity. Out of 19 ministerial nominations, five are from the old team. There will be no change of head of the economic team, but he now receives firm support from the prime minister himself, who is also a practicing economist and from the Gdansk liberal school. Will harmony prevail in this team? Time will tell.

There is no change of helmsman at the wheel of Poland's foreign policy. Telecommunications and transport stay in the same hands and three former deputy ministers from the old team have been promoted to full ministerial portfolio's. The rest are all new people. These are the nominations and within the next few days the Sejm will put these people to the test. It will not be an easy ride for them and the nominees will have to sweat for the jobs. Will they all be accepted?

To conclude, here is an encouraging aspect. The new prime minister said something that was very revealing: "I am forming a normal cabinet, perhaps even a transition cabinet until the day free elections are held." He thus articulated an awareness that when that happens there will not be any dire calamity, but merely a next government and a successive team of people. This is perhaps the most reassuring sentence from the whole speech, showing that the country is really moving toward normalcy, democracy, and Europe.

Protest March Against Lithuanian 'Intervention'

AU1501205791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/01/1991—On Tuesday, January 15, a silent march took place on the Opera Square-University Square-Romana Square-Victoria Square-USSR Embassy route, in support of the desire for freedom and independence of the Baltic countries and the Republic of Moldova, and against the brutal intervention of the Soviet troops in Lithuania.

The march was organized by the Bucharest University Student League. Also participating, along with the Romanian students, were young Bessarabians who are studying in Romania. Part of the about 1,000 participants waved small Lithuanian flags.

Candles were lit and a moment's silence was observed in front of the USSR Embassy. The participants in the march also handed over a message to the embassy officials, expressing their sadness and worry over the tragic events in Vilnius.

The participants in the march showed adequate understanding of the events in Lithuania, showing calm and perfect discipline. No incidents were reported.

Among the participants in the march was Adina Chilim, a tenth grade pupil at the Bucharest Informatics High-School, who declared that she had started a hunger strike on Sunday as a sign of solidarity with the Lithuanian people.

Lithuanian Action Called 'Fatal Mistake'

AU1501150191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1200 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—President Gorbachev, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, "signed his condemnation by his own hand" said well-known Romanian politologist Silviu Brucan in the paper "Mikhail Gorbachev's Fatal Mistake", published Tuesday, January 15, in the independent daily "ADEVARUL."

"The use of force to constrain the Soviet republics to accept the new constitutional formula intended to maintain the unional structure," says the paper "is not only unadvisable but it is also a boomerang that hits back its initiator with devastating force." "Sending Red Army tanks to assault the parliament in Vilnius," which led to "a tragic and unavoidable denouement, that is, the shooting of the Baltics fighting for independence," is, according to the author of the article, "an abominable crime that filled the whole civilized world with indignation." "In fact," continues the article, "from the very beginning Gorbachev embarked upon a wrong path as far as the national problem was concerned, that turned the communist world into an explosive boiler of national conflicts." The attitude of the Soviet president is rooted in Marx' thesis in the "Communist Manifesto" according to which "once class antagonisms are done away with, hostile relations among nations also disappear," which is "a fundamental theoretical error." In fact, says Silviu Brucan, "between classes and nations there is no mechanical relationship, their interests are often conflicting, as is proved by the whole history of 'brotherly' relations among the socialist countries. And now, when the communist dictatorships have been toppled, nationalism has been bursting out in all the Soviet republics and of course in Eastern Europe as a whole."

Delegates Meet Moldovan President 15 Jan

AU1601102191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/01/1991—The delegations representing the "Cultural League for the Union of Romanians All Over the World," the cultural union "Vatra Romaneasca", as well as Romanian political, cultural and ecclesiastical personalities were received by President Mircea Ion Snegur Tuesday, 15 January, while present in Moldova for the celebrations of 15 January, the birthday of Romanian national poet Mihai Eminescu and National Day of Moldova. The meeting occasioned a substantial exchange of information and opinions on the means to extend cultural exchanges. Proposals to these effect were made by His Eminence Dr. Antonie Plamadeala, and metropolitan of Ardeal, Crisana and Maramures, His Eminence Vladimir, metropolitan of Moldova and archbishop of Chisinau, Romania's Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu, Moldova's Minister of Culture and Cults Ion Ungureanu, Stefan Pascu, member of the Romanian Academy, Vice-President of the Romanian Senate Vasile Mois, Victor Craciun, chairman of the "Cultural League for the Union of Romanians All Over the World", Valentin Borda, deputy chairman of "Vatra Romaneasca" cultural union, his Eminence Casian Galateanul, bishop of Lower Danube.

The meeting was followed by a tete-a-tete between President Snegur and Romanian Senate Vice-President Vasile Mois, writes Moldova Press News Agency.

Foreign Ministry on Foreign Journalists' Complaint

AU1501201791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—The Foreign Ministry's press office sent ROMPRES a communique reading as follows:

In the latter days the Foreign Ministry received complaints about the molestation of foreign journalists by the police during the January 12-13 incidents in University Square.

On January 14 the foreign minister asked the Ministry of the Interior to take the necessary measures so the police

would treat the foreign journalists with the appropriate attention during events similar to those in University Square.

The press office of the Foreign Ministry wishes to bring to the attention of all the foreign press correspondents accredited to Bucharest, as well as to the press attaches of the Bucharest embassies that it declines all responsibility for such foreign journalists as do not fill in the necessary accreditation forms at the Romanian Foreign Ministry.

Coposu-Led PNT-cd Delegation Leaves for Greece

AU1501163691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1027 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—A National Peasant [Christian democratic Party [PNT-cd] delegation including the president of this party Corneliu Coposu and other leading members, Messrs. Mircea Ciumara, Paul Lazarescu, Serban Ghica and Marius Luputiu, left for Greece today on a friendly fact-finding and exchange-of-experience visit, upon the invitation of the Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis and of the New Democracy Party.

Recent Foreign Trade Regulations Given

AU1501150091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1238 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—According to the recent regulations on foreign trade activity of the privatized economic agents, export is completely liberalized with most of the products, except for the commodities that are subject to advice from the relevant ministry or to quotas, as they are required for the supply of the population or the adequate unfolding of the productive activity. In that frame, to boost export by private firms, a string of measures were established including: exemption from turnover tax on goods that are not excepted on export, the same applies to all raw and auxiliary materials incorporated in products meant for export, the refund of the customs taxes on the imported raw and auxiliary materials incorporated in products to be exported (drawback).

As for the contracts of export on credit the possibility is stipulated that the export to be credited in lei until the convertible currency is cashed from the foreign partner.

As a result of these facilities and of the nation-wide application of the rules of the market economy, exporters will not be subsidised by the state in future.

Another regulation regards the currency regime according to the export list to be released soon, 50 per cent of the convertible currency cashed from export activity remains with the exporting agent for its own use or for the producer of the commodity, if the respective agent only works by commission. The remainder 50 per cent convertible currency is to be cashed in with the bank for which the equivalent value in lei is to be received at the rate of exchange in lei.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

'No General Strike' in Timisoara

AU1501213591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2103 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—"In Timisoara there is no general strike. Since yesterday there is no student strike either. The people in Timisoara have stopped demonstrating since Saturday, January 12," said Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman, in his Tuesday press conference. He pointed out that 65 problems, 21 of which with a general character, were solved as a result of the negotiations between the government commission headed by Mr. Mihai Zisu, minister of resources and industry, and representatives of the Timisoara trade unions.

Mr. Bogdan Baltazar said that problems with a social character were still to be solved, and that a special commission was discussing them in Timisoara starting today, January 15.

Referring to the concept of "general strike," which had been—as Mr. Baltazar said—"insistently used" lately, especially by the foreign press agencies but also by some Romanian publications, Mr. Baltazar underscored that in Timisoara there were over 100 economic enterprises, 65 of them of national interest. At the present, added Mr. Baltazar, "only 8 of them are on strike, and the strike doesn't have a general character in all of them."

Economic Prospects Viewed

AU1501205891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—During his weekly news conference, the government's spokesman, Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, secretary of state, assessed that 1991 would be a difficult but better year for Romania. Expressing his hope that this year the Romanians will have more satisfactions and will be more confident in future, the government's spokesman stressed that the forecast of the government's specialized body had in view the persistence or cropping up of certain obstacles to economic growth. Nevertheless, Mr. Baltazar said, there are possibilities stabilize and even increase production in 1991 which would lead, in reasonable terms, to a 3.5 per cent rise in goods sales. The national gross product is estimated to grow by five per cent in 1991 from last year, to be achieved 51.8 per cent in industry, 12.7 per cent in agriculture. Taking in consideration a foreseeable privatization rate one may assess that the national gross product will be achieved 77 per cent by the public sector as to 84.7 per cent in 1989. The population's consumption is estimated to increase by over two per cent as to 1990 which, in its turn, saw an over ten per cent growth from 1989.

The government's spokesman stressed that a 6.2 per cent bigger production is estimated to be turned out in agriculture. Services to the population will see an only

four per cent increase. As estimations show, it is assessed that the restructuring of industry, as a decisive factor in 1991 will result in an unemployment not higher than 3.6 per cent of the total employed population that is some 420,000.

The spokesman also showed that the country's minimal foreign capital requirements would stand at about 3.5 million dollars.

1991 Draft Budget Examined

AU1601102491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/01/1991—The draft budget of the Central State Administration for 1991, advanced to the Parliament for approval, stressed Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman, in his newsbriefing, reflects to the full the fundamental changes come about in the social life after the December 1989 revolution, namely: the relinquishing for ever of the supercentralized planning, the process of radical restructuring of the national economy upon the principles of the market economy. Also, it is in harmony with the country's real economic and financial potential.

The draft budget for 1991 was advanced to the Parliament in three variants, in keeping with the deadlines advanced for the complete price liberalization January 1, April 1 or June 1, 1991, said State Secretary Baltazar. The government, he stressed, plans to finance the estimated budget deficit for 1991 and has the means to do so for the variant favored by the executive with the price liberalization of the basic products as of April 1, 1991.

Referring to the expenditures for the budget of the Central State Administration in 1991, he stressed that the socio-cultural, educative, health care, cultural and artistic activities, child benefits, sports activities carry a share of 334 per cent in the 1991 budget as compared with 30.7 per cent last year. There is a drop in the percentage for economic actions industry, agriculture, scientific research, transport reflecting the passage from the overcentralized model to the autonomy of the economic agents and their backing through economic levers. The budget funds for national defense drop in share from 12 per cent in 1990 to 8.9 per cent in 1991, and the expenditures generated by the application of social security measures that obviously match the program of price liberalization are worth 62.7 billion lei. Another component of social security is made by the 16.7 billion lei which is the difference of prices and tariffs for products and services meant for the population with which the prices are not to be changed all along 1991: electricity, liquefied gas, fuel coal, fire wood, season tickets for public transport.

The budget shows a more reduced participation of the state in financing the investments in economic activities, a tendency assessed as normal in keeping with the principles of the market economy. However, the state will encourage the economic agents to invest their own financial resources mobilized in the capital market, by tax discounts on the profit employed in investments, in enlarging and updating the technical-material base, the manufacturing technologies and in environmental protection. The budget also stipulates fiscal facilities for the newly established commercial companies, including ventures with foreign participation, the promotion of the investments of foreign capital.

Considering the big demands of funds to finance the restructuring of industry and of the other branches of the national economy, as well as the necessity to sustain the application of new technologies in certain enterprises, a fund for the economic restructuring is set up, fed by incomes deriving from the sale of state-owned houses and the participation of the state in the registered capital of the commercial companies in the process of privatization, the government spokesman stressed.

Opposition Criticizes Iordache's 'Moral' Ballot

AU1601093891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 9 Jan 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Communique in Connection with the 'Moral' Ballot of National Salvation Front Deputy Mr. Claudiu Iordache"]

[Text] We consider Mr. Claudiu Iordache's request to consult the electorate as unjustified, because the type of ballot he chose is sui generis and not stipulated by any kind of legislation.

It is illegal to involve the state administration (the Prefect's Office, the town halls, the police, and the Army) in such an endeavor, because it runs counter to the 29 June 1990 document adopted by the Copenhagen meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, which was also attended by the Romanian representative who signed this document, including the provision of Chapter 1, Points 5 and 4. These points stipulate "a clear delineation between the state and political parties, because political parties cannot be taken for the state."

On the other hand, our entire legislation forbids the state administration from becoming involved in political activity.

We consider the attempt to make a nominal list of FSN [National Salvation Front] supporters throughout the county as immoral, because each citizen's political choice is an intimate and secrete right of conscience. As a matter of fact, this is the reason why voting is secret throughout the world. The existence of lists with named supporters of Mr. Claudiu Iordache and, respectively, of the FSN can only lead to dangerous punitive developments.

If the goal of the ballot is the declared one, then Mr. Claudiu Iordache should be the first one to ask to stop it.

We ask the citizens of Timisoara and Timis County not to participate, with their signatures in this diversion organized and directed by the FSN and supported by the powers that be.

Signed: Timis PNT-cd [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party]; Timis PNL [National Liberal Party]; PSD [Social Democratic Party]; UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania]; UCD [Christian Democratic Union]; PLD [Liberal Democratic Party]; Human Rights League; Ecologist Movement of Romania; Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum; Civic Alliance; Association of Former Political Detainees; Solidarity Revolution Foundation; Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina Association; "Tot Banatu-i Fruncea" [All Banat Is Top] Association; and Timisoara Association.

Post Scriptum: Article 88 of the Electoral Law stipulates: "Any violation of the secrecy of the ballot by the members of the voting section or any other persons is punishable by six months to three years in jail."

Timis Groups Say Iordache's Post Not Contested

AU1601094291 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 10 Jan 91 p 3

[Text] **Communique**

Concerning the opportuneness of the "moral ballot" initiated today, 8 January 1991, by Timis County FSN [National Salvation Front] deputy Mr. Claudiu Iordache, the committee appointed to represent the parties and the political and apolitical groupings in Timis as well as the Timis FSN told Mr. Iordache and the Civic Collegium established for the technical implementation of the ballot that there is no reason or legal justification for such an action; furthermore, it was stated that there is no foundation whatsoever for such an optional consultation of the electorate. In this respect, the signatories of this communique note that neither on 20 December 1990 nor at any later date did anyone contest Mr. Iordache's status as deputy. Consequently, there is no point in holding such a "moral ballot."

As a matter of fact, Mr. Claudiu Iordache signed his name on the list of Timis parliamentarians who agreed with the protest-communique addressed to the Parliament.

In the objective and democratic spirit that characterizes political life in Timisoara and Timis County, we believe the Mr. Claudiu Iordache's status as deputy is not and cannot be debatable.

The Timis FSN

The Timis Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum

The Timis Civic Alliance

Civil Aviation Chief on Future of TAROM

AU1501153491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—The transformation of the TAROM into a commercial company is long pondered on, and on the beginning of the strike, the necessary documents (mainly the draft government decision and the statute) were already advanced for endorsement to the government, states Engineer Colonel Dumitru Prunariu, undersecretary of state for civil aviation, in an interview with the daily AZI. Maybe, Mr. Prunariu shows, this strike has brought one or two days nearer the endorsement of the draft decision by the government. For, it is not the strike that has determined the transformation of the company.

This month, the undersecretary of state mentions, the new commercial company will be legally set up, with its registration with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. There is still work to be done on the articulation of the way of functioning of the future company.

Referring to the way how he envisages the operation of the future company, Mr. Prunariu assesses that, as a commercial company, it may be by far more responsive than the old state enterprise that was embarrassed in its activity by the strict regulations of certain ministries.

The company will be free to make decisions on its expenditures in convertible currency or lei, for instance, as there will be no more imposed indicators, most significative of which was the profit, Mr. Prunariu adds.

Also, he says, the pays too, will be more flexible.

The undersecretary of state for civil aviation mentions that, in keeping with the legal provisions, in a first stage, the stock of the new company will belong to the state. Then, after 30 per cent will be distributed, later, the shares will be sold or bought at the stock exchange. A registered value will be established for the stock, that will naturally differ from the stock exchange one.

Pilots End Strike 14 Jan

AU1501163891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—Upon conclusion of the dialogue between the management of the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning and the TAROM navigation personnel trade union on January 14, 1991, in the evening, the general assembly of the navigation personnel trade union decided in an extraordinary session that work be resumed. Claims within the competence of TAROM S.A. [expansion unknown] are to be solved during negotiations for the 1991 collective work contract.

Students' League Calls For Trust in Future

AU1501152791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1305 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—Declaring January 15 the day of the country as a whole, "the day of trust in the destiny of us all beyond the storms in Romania's history," a Students' League's communique expresses the conviction that the fate of this historic moment, which is fundamental for the reconstruction of the Romanian state and society, cannot be separated from Romanian spiritual tradition as a whole, which should underlie any effort of social, political or cultural construction in our society. Furthermore, the communique reads, the rebirth of the Romanian society should integrate the energy of the young generation that proved its force of action devoted to the historic imperative of winning freedom for the whole nation.

At the end of the communique the Students' League expresses the hope that January 15 is, to all Romanians, a day of trust in Romania's future.

SRI Issues Communique on June 1990 Events

AU1501213691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2107 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—The national news agency ROMPRES received a communique from the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] in connection with the "Statement" of eight members of the parliamentarian commission inquiring into the 13-15 June 1990 events, which specifies that that institution relayed all the data and information concerning the respective events and forwarded, in November 1990, a synthesis of the conclusions on the 13-15 June 1990 events.

Likewise, the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service was heard twice by the parliamentary inquiry commission, the communique reads stressing that the synthesis forwarded by the SRI includes—in an objective, analytic manner—in logic succession, the evolution of the problems that led to accumulations prior to 13 June, the mechanism of escalating tension, its degeneration into grave extremist acts, just as implications as regards the moral and material support granted to the participants.

To reproach the Romanian Intelligence Service that it did not present data on the acts of violence of 14 and 15 June is in contradiction with the duties of the Romanian Intelligence Service since, as is well known, no intelligence service performs, without special recommendations following a competent decision, activities regarding the investigation of events caused by problems concerning public order and quiet, the communique reads showing that it was on the basis of the data in the synthesis that the mechanism of what had happened on 14 and 15 June 1990 could be correctly explained.

We are of the opinion that the question of responsibilities for the clarification of the 13-15 June 1990 events is general and it serves no one to consider that this responsibility should go to one institution or to a group of institutions, as it serves no one the procrastination or obstruction of the finalization of the report by political or other formations to the end of gaining a momentary political capital.

Consequently, we reject the attempts at eluding responsibilities for the major question of a national interest in a form whereby political advantages are pursued, which cannot benefit fundamental national interests, the communique reads.

SZR Protests Press Freedom Violations

AU1501182991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1806 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—The Standing Committee of the SZR [Society of Romanian Journalists]—the federation of the entire press—analysed the abusive measures and the pressures lately imposed onto journalists and press institutions and sees with deep concern that the democratic principle of the freedom of press has been breached many times. Therefore, it demands that all guilty persons be punished and that competent institutions adopt the necessary measures to prevent the recurrence of such incidents, and the SZR and public opinion be informed about the measures taken.

Foreign Minister Nastase Comments on Human Rights

AU1501154091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1043 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—The efforts toward updating the legislative and practical framework, promoting and protecting human rights on an internal plane have been paralleled by Romania's participation in the international legal documents endorsed or under elaboration at international governmental and nongovernmental meetings held at a world, regional and sub-regional level, shows an article by Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase issued in the Bulletin of the Council for Reform, Public Relations and Information of the Government, which further mentions: As for international documents, Romania's efforts have been streamlined toward withdrawing the reserves it had during the totalitarian regime as well as toward signing and ratifying recently adopted conventions and adhering to older conventions which keep valid. So, one of the first foreign policy acts of new Romania was the Romanian foreign minister's statement on January 5, 1990 on the withdrawal of the reserves the former regime had in formulating its ideas to the CSCE Final Document signed in Vienna. It also withdrew its reserves from several conventions on human rights like the convention on the prevention and repression of genocide, convention on repressing human trafficking and exploiting another's prostitution, convention on women's political rights, convention on eliminating all forms of discrimination against women.

Among the juridical instruments to which Romania became a party after the December 1989 revolution noteworthy are: the convention on recognizing higher learning studies and diplomas in European states, additional protocol I on protection of the victims of international armed conflicts; and additional protocol II on protection of the victims of international armed conflicts to the 1949 Geneva Convention; convention on protecting the world cultural and natural patrimony; convention against torture and other cruel, inhumane or degrading penalties or treatments; convention on children's rights; facultative protocol to the international pact for civil and political rights aiming at abolishing the death penalty.

Now the possibility is examined for Romania to adhere to the convention and protocol on the refugees' status as well as to the facultative protocol and pact on civil and political rights, regarding the examination of the notes received from physical persons by the human rights committee. Being already a party to the human rights [word indistinct], the convention on preventing and repressing genocide and to all the international conventions regarding the prevention of discriminations and fight against it, one can assert that Romania is thus a participant in almost all the international juridical documents covering human rights.

Romania made a significant contribution to the CSCE meeting in Paris, to the Copenhagen conference on CSCE's human dimension, forwarding and promoting a draft declaration on minorities' rights and the protection of their identity. In other meetings of the UN Human Rights Commission, of the General Assembly commission, of working organisms belonging to the Council of Europe, Romania took an active part by promoting full observance of human rights in all countries and further undertaking to complete the world legal framework, broadly cooperating with other countries on the basis of international norms.

* News Conference of Opposition Groups Criticized

91BA0165A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Andrei Alexandru article: "Several Monologues Instead of One Dialogue"]

[Text] In accordance with the 28 November agreement, the leaders of the Independent Group for Democracy [IGD], the Association of Former Political Prisoners [AFPP], the League of Students, the League of War Veterans, the 15 November Movement of Brasov, the Timisoara Society, and the former leaders of CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] (CADA does not exist anymore and its former members are not in the army anymore) met at the Controceni Palace at 1000 on 5 December for the planned dialogue with the country's president. Press reporters were also present at the appointed place. From the palace it was announced that Mr. Iliescu was ready to receive those present, but that neither the reporters nor CADA will be allowed in. The reason given was that the president's office already had appointed media representatives (television, radio, and ROMPRES), and as for CADA, it was said that this committee cannot be officially recognized as a partner for discussion. After negotiations that delayed the initially scheduled opening by one and a half hours, the former CADA members were allowed to participate, but only as mere citizens and not as representatives of any committee. The reporters present at the palace gates were still denied access. About the latter aspect I allow myself to remark that, while it is only natural that certain meetings among political figures should be secret and not open to press reporters, does anyone think that, had the dialogue taken place, the topics of discussion would not have been aired? Not by reporters, but by Mr. Iliescu's interlocutors. I am convinced that everything would have been said, if not more. Some of the people had tape recorders on them and were planning to tape the talks even though they were not reporters. So why keep the press out? Why preempt this principle of democracy, namely dialogue, because of exaggerated caution? Why provide grist to the mill of those who say that "Iliescu doesn't want to talk to us?" when even Mr. Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu himself, the leader of AFPP who participated in the negotiations with the president's advisers, later said he felt the presidency really wanted to talk?

Thus, since the press was not allowed to attend the meeting with Mr. Iliescu, everyone present at the gates of the Cotroceni Palace was invited to the AFPP offices for a press conference. It must be admitted that the hosts behaved in a correct and civilized manner toward those present.

The press conference began with reports by the leaders of each organization on the issues that would have been brought to Mr. Iliescu's attention. From the very beginning we noted a series of requests that were, in my opinion, justified: The truth about the terrorists, put on trial the military men who produced victims during the revolution because of excessive zeal, examine promotions hastily caried out in the army, improve the living conditions and training of the army. But what good did it do that those requests were justified, if they were prefaced or followed by a demand that Mr. Iliescu resign! It does no good to have legitimate requests if the manner in which they are formulated preempts a solution from the very start. Speaking for myself, if I go to my manager with a problem I don't begin by asking him to resign. This makes me think that in fact, these organizations or their leaders were not interested in having problems solved, but just in Mr. Iliescu's resignation. After all, the solicitants had a host of means from which to choose: audience with the president, presenting complaints during the hour reserved on television for the opposition, or the press. The reason that this particular medium was chosen was probably to demonstrate that they are many, that the problems are numerous, and that the solution is still resignation. In point of fact, the ultimative tone used during the press conference confirms this

statement: "Within three-four days we will picket the television station and we will not leave until it becomes free. The storm is brewing. We wanted to avert it. We will not be able to control the anger of the masses." (Ticu Dumitrescu, AFPP).

"We can no longer control this mass of dissatisfied people, and it is a pity for what will happen" (M. Sevaciuc, 15 November Association of Brasov).

"Iliescu should make a patriotic gesture and resign, because his candidacy in the election was a step toward blocking Romania" (V. Popovici, Timisoara Society).

The following demands were also voiced: Add Generals Chitac, Guse, Stanculescu, Voinea, Eftimescu, and Topliceanu to the list of defendants in the Timisoara trial; fire some of the television employees (R. Teodorescu, E. Valeriu, Al. Stark, C. Rosianu), who were described as communists; fire Prosecutor General G. Robu and the Military Judge Advocate, M. Florescu, because the latter allegedly supported Gen. V. Stanculescu.

I asked the leaders present at the press conference what their future intentions were concerning a dialogue with the president. I noted that opinions were split. "I think it is too late for dialogue" (Ticu Dumitrescu, AFPP); "We don't want dialogue any more" (Lieutenant Colonel (R) Silviu Popescu); "We will wait for them to ask for a dialogue, but we want it to be broadcast live" (Alexandru Craciun, IGD); "We will accept a dialogue only if CADA participates too" (Mircea Sevaciuc, 15 November Movement of Brasov); "The rulers must hurry, because history is hurrying too" (Vasile Popovici, Timisoara Society); "We demand a constructive and urgent dialogue" (Stefan Cucu, League of Veterans).

Former Top PCR Officials' Trial Continues

AU1601102891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/01/1991—The trial of former members of the Communist Party's [PCR] Executive Political Committee continued Tuesday, January 15, at Bucharest's Military Court, with the hearing of the accusation witnesses. Andrei Vela, former activist at the chancellory of the Communist Party's Central Committee, who had contributed in drawing up the protocols based on the shorthand minutes of the discussions in the meetings of the Political Committee, continuing his testimony on January 11, on the 17 December '89 meeting of the political committee when after informing his close associates about what was going on in Timisoara, Nicolae Ceausescu also told them about his decision to take first steps to restore order. The witness specified the former dictator was not at all clear about what orders he had given to solve the situation created in Banat's capital and there had never been any written document mentioning them. Andrei Vela said that from the information Ceausescu gave, corroborated with his own data on the events, he understood which orders hadn't been executed and had the intuition of the firm measures that were going to be taken, i.e. shooting with war ammunition. Referring to Ceausescu's having drastically scolded the ministers of national defense and of the interior, and the head of the State Security Department for not obeying his orders, the witness was of the opinion that the dictator wanted to put the high officials participating in the meeting on a psychological pressure. Andrei Vela also thinks the fact that the participants did not say a word meant abstention and not acquiescence.

As for the 22 December meeting of the Executive Political Committee, the witness said no decision was taken then and he underlined that what he had said at the penal inquiry, namely the conclusion he drew from that meeting was that it was decided that the measures proposed on December 17 should continue to be taken had the significance of an appeal made by Ceausescu for the fight to continue.

As for the controversy on the participants in the 17 December meeting having or not voted the measures proposed by Ceausescu, the witness said, to his mind, the vote procedures were not used then on the one hand because no agenda had been established before and no adequate materials, and on the other hand, because Ceausescu took precautions to prevent a possible rejection of his proposals.

Witness Aurelian Birnu was also heard during the same meeting, former shorthand writer at the chancellory of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, who shorthanded the minutes of the 21 December meeting of the former Executive Political Committee, held before the rally having marked the revolutionary outburst in Bucharest.

The court decided for the trial to be resumed Thursday, January 17, 9:00 hours.

Further Witnesses Heard in Generals' Trial 15 Jan

AU1501163491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—On Tuesday, January 15, in the morning, the Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice continued to hear further witnesses in the trial against eleven members in the leadership of the former Interior Ministry and the former Department of State Security, who are charged with illegal deprivation of liberty of more than 1,200 people during the antidictatorial demonstrations on December 21, 1989. Seven of the 13 witnesses called in by the prosecution appeared before the court and their testimony showed that on December 21 and on the night of December 21 to 22 they were arrested and molested by repression bodies. The fact was highlighted that molestation continued at the Jilava jail, where many of the people detained were beaten by guards and militia officers. Although these pieces of testimony are quite heavy in the prosecution act a proof could not be offered that the arrests and molestations were a direct outcome of orders come from the then leadership of the Interior

Ministry. However, it is unquestionably to be presumed that such acts had not been initiated by lower links in the repression bodies.

The trial will reopen on Wednesday when other prosecution witnesses will be heard.

Population Census Planned for 1992

AU1501154191 Bucharst ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—A new census of the population and houses in Romania is envisaged for January 1992. It is quite new, as it will have many new elements, both in its conception and in its carrying into effect proper.

The preparations have already started. The national statistical board has set up a general department to prepare this action of great economic and social significance.

As Romania goes through a period of transition to the market economy, the recording of the economic activities too, will be done according to the international standards and methods. For the first time, the census will record the professional status employed, form of ownership of the respective entity, unemployed. Likewise, it will record minutely the population by localities, including also the persons who, for various reasons, live longer in the respective locality. Last, but not least, the belonging to a certain religious faith too, will be recorded for the first time.

Substantive assistance will be received from UN specialized agencies: census expert improvement, data processing equipment, cooperation in establishing the samples with which the tendencies manifest in the population and house dynamics will be surveyed in the period between two censuses.

Ministry Delays Release of Soldiers From Duty

AU1501183191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/1/1991—A communique sent to the ROMPRES national press agency shows that the Ministry of National Defence follows with special attention the international military and political situation, being deeply concerned over the tension in the Gulf region. Our armed forces, the communique specifies, back the Romanian state's stand on its effort to peacefully settle the situation in that area.

After specifying that soldiers having been called up for military service over January-February 1990 were to be put in reserve over January 16-22, 1991, and that this month other youths are to be called up for military service in keeping with the law, the communique further underscores that, taking into consideration the international military and political situation and the necessity to maintain a high combat capacity, the Ministry of National Defence has taken the measure to postpone the putting in reserve for a short while.

The Ministry of National Defence also informs that it has taken other measures as well to protect and defend military and state objectives, constitutional order and quiet, the communique reads in conclusion.

'Increased Protection' for Foreign Missions

AU1601113491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Due to the danger of war in the Gulf, all diplomatic and consular missions and foreign economic and trade agencies in our country are under increased protection by the Yugoslav Security Service. According to international conventions, such security measures are a usual practice when respective state organs of the host country assess that a crisis of a danger of war in some region in the world may affect the security of foreign missions.

There are more than 100 foreign embassies in Yugoslavia.

Loncar Returns From Geneva, Reviews Contacts

LD1101223991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2106 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Tomorrow's visit by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to Baghdad, which comes only four days before the deadline for the application of Security Council Resolution 678, authorizing military action, represents the last hope and perhaps the last effort to avoid war in the Gulf. This was stated this evening in Belgrade by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, immediately after his return from Geneva, to Stevan Cordas, TANJUG's diplomatic editor.

During his several hours in Geneva, Loncar had lengthy talks with Perez de Cuellar, who also invited him for final consultations prior to his departure for Baghdad. Loncar also had meetings with his counterparts from France and Italy; more than 10 foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries had talks on the telephone with the federal secretary of foreign affairs. It has been learned that all the collocutors insisted that Yugoslavia, on behalf of the nonaligned movement, continue until the last moment the effort to find a peaceful and political solution to the crisis in the Gulf.

The serious and dramatic nature of Perez de Cuellar's journey to Baghdad is also enhanced by the knowledge that no progress whatsoever was achieved at the meeting in Geneva between U.S. Secretary of State Baker and Iraqi foreign minister Tariq 'Aziz. Loncar stressed this is because Iraq continues to reject all the Security Council resolutions relating to the occupation of Kuwait. Loncar said today's "gathering" in Geneva (Perez de Cuellar had two separate meetings with EC foreign ministers and with Loncar) had two aims:

"First, so that we might organize in a more successful way a planned approach in these kind of collective deliberations so that Saddam Husayn could shift from his present position of intransigence and accept the appeal of the world public to withdraw from Kuwait by 15 January; and second, with today's exchange of views both the EC and the Nonaligned Movement want the UN secretary general to acquire the greatest possible credibility and want the extent to which the world is interested in peace in the Gulf to be made quite clear to Saddam Husayn."

Loncar stressed that Perez de Cuellar has obtained full support for his mission tomorrow to Baghdad from all the heads of state of all five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, France, and China.

When it was insisted that he at least attempt to give some more specific assessment on the eve of the "day of reckoning", in other words 15 January, the Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs said: "I am not a great optimist but I still nurture the hope that the worst thing—war in the Gulf—will perhaps be avoided at one minute to 12."

Rugova Comments on Relations With Albania

AU1101154891 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Jan 90 p 15

[M. Antic report: "Dialogue or Unrest"]

[Excerpts] Pristina—The leadership of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (Ibrahim Rugova and Fehmi Agani) used its first news conference this year, as they said, to point out the fact "that even the New Year holiday could not pass without repression against Albanians, without the arrest of a journalist Jusuf Ferizi at Skopje airport, and without an Albanian soldier being brought back home in a coffin." Rugova demanded that the Yugoslav People's Army explain this and similar cases, and then repeated the "fundamental" demands of ethnic Albanians—namely that the Assembly and the Executive Council of Kosovo resume work—that RILINDJA be published again, and that Pristina Radio and Television broadcast programs in Albanian. He also protested against the "segregation" in schools and demanded parallel schools for Albanians.

"We Are Difficult To Ignore"

Rugova particularly stressed the following: "The SFRY Presidency's session lies ahead of us. The Presidency will discuss an agreement on the future of Yugoslavia. Judging by everything, Albanians have been excluded from these talks because they do not have a representative there—a representative endorsed by the Kosovo Assembly. I do not know whether the Kosovo Presidency president and our regular member in the Presidency will attend the SFRY Presidency session, but by not mentioning the Kosovo problem, they want to exclude us from this agreement. I have said several times in the past that without us there can hardly be, what they call, a historic agreement, because we are difficult to ignore.

"If things continue in this way, then we can hardly expect peace in Kosovo. The Serbian authorities and Serbs in Kosovo, who cooperate with the authorities and the police, should think very carefully, because they will find it difficult to live together in this part of the country

with people toward whom they behaved in an inhuman and politically inconsiderate way." [passage omitted]

"An Attempt To Exert Pressure"

The letter that President Jovic sent to Kosovo academicians, Fahri Agani said, is shocking because it reflects a lack of knowledge; it contains inaccuracies—an illogical and very thin argumentation of stands that it supports, the uncritical acceptance of the insinuating reports of tabloid newspapers on events in Kosovo, and it attempts to defend everything that the democratic public justifiably condemns as state terror in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the latest developments in Albania, Ibrahim Rugova repeated that "we support all democratic processes." He particularly stressed that he welcomes the view that the first free elections could be attended by foreign observers. This is good, he said, so that there is no manipulation on the part of the ruling party, although, according to him, it is not good that the proposal to postpone elections was not accepted. Regardless of that, "I think that the newly founded Democratic Party, that is, democratic forces, will win."

Answering the question on what he thought about the statement of the leaders of the Democratic Party of Albania on the unification of Albania and Kosovo, Rugova said:

"I heard they said this, but that they later corrected themselves saying that this would be feasible within the framework of integration in Europe, which I myself consider normal.

Drnovsek Interviewed on 10 Jan Session

AU1101215491 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency, by Bojan Veselinovic and (?Jane Ruina) in Belgrade on 10 January; individual reporters not identified—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] How do you assess today's session?

[Drnovsek] I think that the session was quite successful considering my own expectations, although the public, particularly in some places, expected very much from this historic session, that is it expected it to provide answers to main questions that are burdening our republics and the entire state. We have not expected this and we are satisfied that we managed to agree about the ways to continue to seek solutions to the crisis, about the way to communicate, and agreed to continue soon to hold more sessions like today's, as well as bilateral talks. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Since there is great interest in what happened at the session, would you please tell us whether statements by individual republican representatives were merely true and clear representations of the options within the policies that individual parts of Yugoslavia have been carrying out for some time, or were certain conditions set. In other words, the events that happened this week have made the beginning of today's session difficult in many aspects.

[Drnovsek] Republican representatives have very firmly presented their stances, in fact in such a way that it seems that some of the views cannot be brought closer, for example, Slovene and Croatian views on one side and Serbian views on the other. The two are in fact at completely opposite sides, so it is difficult to see today whether there is any of possibility of bridging this gap. One has to say this.

We did talk about these events, that is, the incursion into the state's monetary system committed by Serbia. We discussed this issue thoroughly. The debate on this issue was certainly full of conflict. Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic was very resolute in saying that it is necessary to compensate this, to make it up. It is difficult today to assess the prospects of the situation. It will most probably be difficult.

We also expect protective measures to be introduced by some other republics, apart from Slovenia. They will probably make the entire situation even more complicated and make the distance between the republics even greater, as well as make the present negotiations even more complicated.

It is a fact, however, that representatives of most republics harshly condemned this deed. Such a monetary incursion directly endangered and harmed everybody. That was not only a dialogue between the Government and Serbia, or Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, but the others also.

[Reporter] No guarantee was given by the Presidency [words indistinct] and that was probably not to be expected.

[Drnovsek] Well, this issue was not really on the agenda and the president already several times tried to make it so that we would not discuss the issue at length today, because the basic point of the meeting was different, that is, it was to agree about the future. This was such an important element that had a strong influence on future events and the move was so important that it definitely made individual republics seek economic protection and independence. In this way, the Yugoslav situation will become different and republics will become more distant and more independent from each other than they are now.

[Reporter] Today's expanded session was held after yesterday's session of the Presidency itself, when the decree on disarmament was issued that was not particularly clear about who should carry it out. Nobody tried to establish to whom the decree applies, who should start implementing it, or when and where in Yugoslavia the disarmament processes should start. Was that a moot point today?

[Drnovsek] Less than one would expect it to be. This point was present today only in some statements and

failed to make an impact on the entire session. In that connection, I would like to state my opinion that was also voiced today by some other people at the session, and that is that we certainly advocate a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, a solution on the basis of sovereignty and equality of all our republics, and that the Yugoslav People's Army can by no means represent an active factor in finding that solution.

Nobody can use the Army to impose his own political stands or his own interest onto others. Nobody can use it as an active factor in negotiations that represent a potential threat or even a real pressure. Therefore, with rare exceptions, the view that prevailed in the debate today is similar to this one I hold.

[Reporter] Concerning the dilemma of whether the negotiations should be held through the federal services in direct connection between individual republics, what do you expect of these bilateral negotiations that should be held until the next expanded session on 23 January? And another question: Are you optimistic?

[Drnovsek] Well, I have to say that this question was for some time posed as an exclusive question: It is either federal services or dialogues among the republics. We have found a solution that includes both ways: Nobody opposed the fact that the republics are sovereign and independent and that they should be basic factors in deciding their own future destiny and the destiny of Yugoslavia and that they also have to hold direct negotiations on this issue.

The talks that will be held through the apparatus of the Federation would above all concern the present functioning of the Federation as long as it exists. One must ensure its minimum functioning lest it come to complete chaos and anarchy, and the services of the Federation must be present at these talks. The proposal was made today that we should start activities on dividing present financial and other funds and liabilities in Yugoslavia, to have clear relations. Certainly, since such relations have been created to a great extent by the present federal services with their decisions, these services will have to be present at dividing these matters and settling relations that result from laws and other decisions valid at the moment. I think that we will manage to solve this dilemma.

Concerning the question whether I am optimistic, I am optimistic to some extent because it is obvious that we are going to negotiate because we have to, although I cannot be optimistic to such an extent as to say that the real outcome of the situation and the way we are going bridge these very great differences are clear to me.

Izetbegovic Hails Federal Presidency Session

AU1601092091 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 91 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Democracy Is Essential"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 January—I was glad that the session of the SFRY Presidency was attended by all those who were invited although, to be frank, I had feared that not everyone would be there. This was stated this evening in Sarajevo, by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on his return from this important meeting.

I would separate the atmosphere at the session into two parts, Izetbegovic continued. In the first, the atmosphere was in a state of "deep freeze," while in the second there was a process of "thawing." A glimmer of hope appeared for further agreements that resulted in the decision to continue bilateral discussions between representatives of the republics. There will soon be discussions between the presidents of Serbia and Croatia and, I believe, we will have a meeting next week with the Slovenes. In my opinion, this is good because things can be discussed much more openly and specifically at these sessions than at large meetings.

We also put forward the stand that we are in favor of Yugoslavia and that dilemmas over a federation or confederation are artificial. It is essential to have democracy in the country and then we will more easily find a common language between all of us together. In the meantime, until a new meeting is held in Belgrade, the president of the Federal Executive Council has been given the task of formulating the minimum of a joint program with the governments of the republics so that federal organizations and a common state can function, Alija Izetbegovic said.

Chief of General Staff Faces Replacement

LD1301001991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, in an exclusive statement to Zagreb's NEDJELJNI VJESNIK, has suggested that he may request the replacement of General Adzic from the post of chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Mesic explained that at last Wednesday's session of the Presidency, fierce polemics occurred between the two of them. Adzic, Mesic says, "to put it in the mildest terms spoke very incorrectly about the political situation in Croatia." In his speech, in the opinion of Mesic, he used arguments that were supported by insufficiently verified information. Vice President Mesic added that he has requested the shorthand notes of all the speeches made at this session. When he examines them in detail he says he believes that he will request the replacement of Gen. Adzic.

Mesic intimated that in the next 10 days delegations of Croatia and Serbia will meet in Belgrade. In these direct talks they will familiarize each other with their stances and thoughts about the future of the Yugoslav community.

U.S. Human Rights Group Calls For Sanctions

LD1101232791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 11 Jan 91

[Text] Washington, Jan 11 (TANJUG)—The U.S. human rights watch organization has asked the government in Washington to undertake economic sanctions against the Yugoslav Federal Government and if possible against the government of the Republic of Serbia. The reason being, as claimed, the abuse of human rights in the Province of Kosovo.

The demand is contained in the recently published report of the organization on the state of human rights in the world.

The human rights watch group, however, does not agree with the stand of the U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmerman and the State Department that, apart from everything, U.S. aid to Yugoslavia should not be discontinued.

Yugoslavia, however, has not been receiving U.S. economic aid.

The human right watch group has announced it will open in Yugoslavia a permanent branch office in order to monitor better the events in various parts of the country.

A part of the report which refers to Yugoslavia also sets out observations on the situation in the republic of Croatia, where tension is growing between the majority Croatian and minority Serbian populations.

The Croatian government, according to the "Helsinki Watch" group, showed the wish to use too much force in quelling the ethnic unrest among the Serbian minority. The report, however, did not recommend sanctions against Croatia but only a careful watch of the potentially [word indistinct] state of human rights in the republic.

Slovenia's Peterle Advocates Early Independence

AU1601111791 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Jan 91 p 4

[Erich Hoorn report:"Timetable for Early Slovene Independence"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—The ruling by the Constitutional Court in Belgrade according to which Slovenia's declaration of independence is invalid does not impress the head of the government of the Slovene republic, Lojze Peterle. "We do not recognize the legality of this decision," and therefore it is meaningless. In this way, independence is denied in advance, which currently exists only on paper and not in reality, Peterle stressed.

In a talk with Austrian journalists, the head of government pointed out that independence must be achieved by June. Various steps, however, are needed in this connection. As a matter of fact, the police are already Slovene, but only part of the Army is under Slovene command.

Talks will start shortly with the federal government to achieve a further reduction of the activities of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia, which includes 30,000 men. Peterle admits, however, that this will take quite some time. Thus, Serbian officers should speak Slovene in the barracks. Contrary to many other compatriots, Peterle does not fear that the Yugoslav Army might intervene in Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Jansa Sues Journalist for 'Divulging' Secrets

AU1501171891 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 91 p 13

[S. Petrovic report: "Why Is Janez Jansa Protecting Sandi Grubelic"]

[Excerpts] Maribor, 7 Jan—Janez Jansa, known as the defense minister in Slovenia, a man who has been involved in scandal after scandal for three years running, has recently found himself in the public spotlights again. He is suing a DELO journalist, Primoz Kalisnik, on behalf of his department. Some people in Slovenia see this as a start of a general hunt of a number of journalists by this official of the Demos' Government.

The charges filed against Kalisnik accuse him of "divulging a state secret" and "ruining the reputation and good name of Sandi Grubelic," owner of the troublesome firm, Trend, of Grosuplje. He has been in exile in Italy for three months. Janez Jansa accuses the DELO journalist of slandering Grubelic by claiming that he purchased automatic rifles for the needs of the Slovene territorial defense from internationally well-known dealers in Zurich. [passage omitted]

Primoz Kalisnik, who will appear before the court, clearly and categorically stated in his newspaper that Janez Jansa, together with Igor Bavcar, Lojze Peterle, and Janez Slapar (a retired teacher and a major in the reserves, now a commander of the alternative territorial defense of Slovenia), recently visited Kocevski Rog to watch the Slovene territorial defense force practice using a new rifle made in Singapore under U.S. license, the 5.56x45 mm AP-18 type of rifle. That is a standard NATO weapon, but is not used by the armed forces of the SFRY. It is also known that the rifles, as well as anti-tank and air defense rockets of allegedly Swiss or German production, which were bought through dealers in Zurich, did not arrive in the country legally and with the approval of the Supreme Command, that is, with approval of the Yugoslav People's Army. These weapons were sent via Italy and were brought secretly into the country with the help of the Association of the Slovene Sport Organizations from Italy and the international trucking firm Interevropa from Koper. [passage omitted]

Tudjman, Georgievski Hold Talks in Zagreb

AU1601130391 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 91 p 1

[HINA report: "Tudjman-Georgievski Meeting"]

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia and president of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], received Sunday evening Ljupco

Georgievski, president of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE], and the party's general secretary Boris Zmajkovski. The talks were also attended by Josip Manolic, president of the Croatian Government, Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, Slavko Degoricija, vice president of the Chamber of Communes of the Croatian Assembly, and Ivan Mikulic, member of the Croatian delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

The participants in the talks exchanged views on the political situations in Croatia and Macedonia. The guests from Macedonia used the opportunity to brief President Tudjman on VMRO-DPMNE's stand on the organization of the assembly and the government. They also discussed possibilities for parliamentary and party cooperation between the HDZ and the VMRO-DPMNE. During the discussion on the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, the participants broached the possibility of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia signing a confederal treaty if other federal units do not agree with this idea. They also mentioned the possibility of other countries, such as Greece, Bulgaria, and Hungary, joining this confederation that would be modelled on the EC, that is, all those countries that would have an interest in such a confederation.

A meeting between the HDZ and the VMRO-DPMNE delegations took place in Zagreb on Sunday night. The HDZ delegation consisted of Slavko Degoricija and Ivan Mikulic, while the VMRO-DPMNE delegation consisted of Ljupco Georgievski and Boris Zmajkovski. The two sides stressed that they hold identical views on the Yugoslav political crisis and on the ways it should be resolved. They also stressed that, in addition to parliamentary cooperation, the two parties ought to hold meetings more frequently. They condemned the order of the SFRY Presidency as an attempt to involve the Yugoslav People's Army in the affairs that are in the republican police's sphere of competence, something that could lead to a violent prevention of democratic ways of resolving the Yugoslav crisis. Regarding Serbia's incursion in the monetary system of the country, they said that this kind of plunder is unprecedented in the civilized world.

Association of Serbs From Croatia Founded

LD1201220991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Summary] Novi Sad, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—At its founding assembly today the Association of Serbs from Croatia presented its program. This non-party organization will commit itself to help their compatriots in Croatia whose cultural and social development is endangered in the new state of Croatia.

Situation in Knin Remains 'Complicated'

AU1201162191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 91

[Milos Rajkovic report]

[Excerpt] The SFRY Presidency's order on the disarmament of irregular formations was received by the people of the Knin Region with delight. This cannot be said about the Croatian authorities. Milos Rajkovic reports from Knin:

[Rajkovic] The situation in the Knin Region is again becoming complicated. During the night and this morning, the special forces of the Croatian police have occupied the main roads leading toward the neighboring communes of Sinj and Drnis. They control the traffic and travelers and, as we learned in the Knin Information Center, several travelers from Knin were stopped and detained the very moment they left the area of the Knin Region. Therefore, special forces did not raid the region, but are concentrating themselves along its borders.

The news about the presence of the special forces has spread among the local population with lightning speed, but there are no visible signs of unrest. It is thought that what is involved is an attempt to frighten, but also a special reaction of the Croatian authorities to the SFRY Presidency's order on the disarmament of unlawful paramilitary formations and returning their weapons to the Yugoslav People's Army.

The Serbian Knin Radio broadcast its program all last night and repeated the announcement of the Council of the People's Resistance that called on the population to be prepared and not to react to the special forces' provocations. [passage omitted]

'Demonstration of Force' in Knin Region Viewed

AU1501213991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] As is well known, the Serbian Krajina has been in a state of siege for a week already. We have unofficially learned that half of the total 30,000 members of the Croatian National Guard—previously renamed as members of the special forces and constabulary—[word indistinct] in the border area of the communes that make up the Serbian Autonomous Region. Zivojin Jerotijevic reports on what is behind this demonstration of force:

[Jerotijevic] Together with camouflage uniforms, Croatian commandos have been given the task of creating psychological tension in the operation, codenamed Highwaymen, until the Krajina people crack and are the first to pull the trigger. Even though they are armed to the teeth, they are not for the moment attacking villages and towns in the Knin Krajina and are not organizing raids. If anyone leaves the besieged area, however, they will diligently practice their severity.

Deliberately, slowly, so that the torture lasts as long as possible, they search vehicles and people and lead them off for so-called information-seeking conversations.

Not even the most prominent Serbs, members of the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party, have been saved from this harassment nor, by golly, the journalists who are reporting events in and concerning the Serbian Krajina on the orders of their editorial offices.

The anatomy of this operation leads us to the war headquarters of Croatia, or the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order. Everything points to the fact that from the very beginning the council was faced with the difficult problem of how to legalize armed intervention and eliminate the justified suspicion it (?initiated the beginning) of an interethnic conflict of far- reaching dimensions. In other words, what should be done so that Croatia is not hated for provoking civil war. Along with strong media support, attempts were made to find the solution to this problem in the well-known and oft-tried maneuver of putting the blame and responsibility onto someone else.

Therefore, it was first of all announced with lightning speed that there are no paramilitary formations on the territory of Croatia that should be disarmed and dissolved in conformity with the order from the state Presidency. The assumption was also categorically rejected that the would-be legal armed formations were preparing terrorist activities, and the notorious fact was also suppressed that these units are armed with the kind of automatic guns that do not exist in the regular armaments of the Yugoslav Army because these are imported from some neighboring and other countries. For example, they are imported from China. The Serbian Krajina was blamed for the existence of illegal military formation and the planning of terrorist actions.

This blatant untruth can of course only be believed by the uninformed and gullible, and there are fewer and fewer of such people. Therefore, a spontaneous rally was very hastily organized so that the people could fulfill their political will. The agitators of the Croatian Democratic Community addressed a meeting last Sunday on Jelacic Square in Zagreb.

They demanded that Yugoslavia's ashes be scattered forever, an independent state of Croatia be established, and the Serbs in Croatia finally (?brought to their senses). The political people obviously understood this message the way they were meant to and chanted in unison: "Give us arms."

As a synchronized expression of support and probably so that the combative piano piece for four hands would be as convincing as possible, the ultra-right wing of Slovene separatists appeared, demanding in an ultimatum that further talks on the future of Yugoslavia be stopped immediately.

It is perfectly clear that the demonstration of force was not the aim in itself, nor was this provocation, as could be thought, only some kind of test of the patience of the Yugoslav Army and its supreme command. In this specific case, saber rattling has a duel effect: to encourage the supporters of the government of the Croatian Democratic Community and to some extent restore the diminished confidence of the Croatian people in the correctness of a policy that is leading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

It is not worth speaking about the coherence of methods and the way of realizing this, in all aspects, anti-Yugoslav scheme. One knows what happens to those who sup with the devil.

Crowds Attend Kosovar Soldier's Funeral

AU1401165391 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 6 Jan 91 p 5

[Agim Muhaxheri and Daut Shehu report: "The Voice of Protest Against Mysterious Murders"]

[Text] On 4 January, young and old gathered in the Sumreke meadows in the village of Pustenik in Kacanik Commune in order to pay their last respects to the soldier Izet Bushi from this village.

According to the official version by the military authorities of the Cuprija garrison in Serbia, the soldier Izet Bushi (19) "committed suicide" in the early hours of the morning of 1 January. The military authorities said the young man's corpse was found in the car park about 600-700 meters from the barracks.

What Happened in the Cuprija Barracks?

The military authorities said: Izet Bushi first seized the sentry's gun, then took some bullets, and shot himself.

The military authorities brought the young man's body on 3 January. It was displayed at the gates of the "Sar" Combine in Han i Elezit [Djeneral Jankovic] and was then carried on its half-hour journey to the village of Pustenik. The soldiers again informed the assembled citizens that Izet had "committed suicide," and left, having completed the job for which they were sent. On the same day, 3 January, many armed Serbian militia were noticed in Han i Elezit, and some of them even maltreated citizens in the afternoon, chasing them and telling them to go home.

SHKENDIJA, FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, and the Croatian press wrote about this tragedy, and the news was also broadcast by Zagreb radio.

Of course, there was no report of it on Pristina radio and television's Serbo-Croatian program, and naturally not on Belgrade television.

On 4 January, young and old from different parts of Kosovo and Macedonia headed for the village of Pustenik. There was a long column of cars. The cars stopped at Uje i Tharte about 3 kilometers from the entrance to Han i Elezit, and the crowds crossed the Lepenc River on

a plank bridge. People paid their respects by the coffin, which was displayed in the yard of the Bushi family home, with an Albanian national flag and Izet's photograph. They then gathered in the Sumreke meadows, where a red-draped dais had been prepared with the national flag and loudspeakers. There was the inscription, "Glory to the martyr of the nation, Izet Bushi." A young girl held up Izet's photograph, and a boy held the national flag at half-mast. Izet Bushi's father, mother, and other members of his family were also present.

About 150,000 people assembled on the meadow of sorrow. The crowd repeatedly and silently raised two fingers in the shape of a "V." Personal cameras were also noticed, recording the atmosphere of this event. A young boy read out the telegrams of sympathy sent by branches and subbranches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance from Switzerland and Germany, from the chief editor of ALTERNATIVA, from the Migjeni Cultural Association in Ljubljana, and from all Kosovo. The fathers of the murdered soldiers Jetullah Desku and Fatmir Tafa also came to the gathering. Five brothers from the family of Idriz Seferi [leader of Kosovo's uprising against the Turks in 1910] were also present.

Mutilated Body

The hideous corpse was inspected by Doctor Menduh Kaloshi. He described what he saw, and said that Izet's tall body was marked by surface wounds in the left side of the chest and on the left hand, between whose thumb and index finger there was a black bruise. The second wound, he said, had been fatal. The bullet-hole could be seen in the neck, and the bullet had passed through the inside of his mouth, nose, eye, and upper part of his skull.

The young girl Ajnure Daci said in her eulogy that the news of Izet Bushi's tragic death had been received with deep grief. This soldier, instead of coming home to us for New Year, was sent back in a coffin. She said that Izet was a hard-working and clever boy of strong character. We have grown used to news of this kind. Every day we hear that someone has been killed, wounded, or beaten by the Serbian police. The young woman Mihane Hasani spoke on behalf of the Kacanik branch of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance. She said that the Republic of Kosovo is and will remain a firm pillar of endurance. She said that when Izet left for the army, his mother saw him off in full health, but now all Kosovo, all Albania, [Shqiptaria] is receiving him home. You were killed, Izet, she said, because you were an Albanian.

You great Serbs, Kosovo will never forget the graves of its sons that you have dug. This land was, is, and will be ours. Her resonant voice was then heard calling for a voice of protest to be raised to stop these mysterious murders. When Izet Bushi's name was mentioned, the crowd roared, "Glory, glory."

Professor Dr. Zekeria Cana, deputy chairman of the Kosovo Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, said that another grave has been opened in January this year, adding that what has happened has been continuing for nine years on end. This fine young lad was brought back in a coffin, hideous and mutilated. Zekeria Cana asked the question, "What can this Army be called, which kills our sons? What is now happening was unknown even in the time of the Ottoman Empire or under the kings of old Yugoslavia, but it happens now." He then pointed out that the military authorities give no explanations for the murders of Albanian soldiers. This Army, he said, is not ours. (The crowds shouted: "It is not ours.") Professor Dr. Zekeria Cana asked where Yugoslavia's sisters and mothers are. Do they have children and brothers? Why does Europe not raise its voice over the tragedy that is happening to the Albanians? You, Izet, have joined your comrades who fell as martyrs to the Republic of Kosovo. (At that moment, while Professor Cana was speaking at 1248 [1148 GMT], the sky filled with the noise of a militia helicopter, to which the crowd responded by raising two fingers.)

Even patience has an end, Professor Dr. Zekeria Cana said among other things.

It must be pointed out that the funeral of the soldier Izet Bushi took place without any incident of any kind, and that the crowd dispersed peacefully.

Macedonian Parties Continue Squabble

AU1401122191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[N. Batkoski and D. Nikolic report: "Crisis at the Very Beginning"]

[Text] Skopje—The announced parliamentary crisis had already started at the first constituent session of the Macedonian multiparty assembly—with protracted and painstaking discussions on procedural matters such as the agenda, the setting of the session, the rules of procedure, and so forth. Nevertheless, the first step forward was made in the afternoon with the verification of the deputies' mandate, after which the deputies were supposed to elect the president of the parliament, three vice presidents, and three parliamentary commissions.

A proposal put forward by a VMRO-DPMNE [the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] deputy, Trajana Arsova, caused the greatest polemics with regard to procedural matters when she suggested that the Macedonian national anthem be played before the start of the working part of the session, which was, as in Croatia, outside the envisaged program. Representatives of the SKM-PDP [the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation] proposed that the Yugoslav anthem also be played. Representatives of the VMRO opposed this, stressing that the new parliament is the symbol of Macedonian statehood and that therefore playing the Yugoslav anthem "Hey Slavs" is not appropriate for the occasion. Neither anthem (the Macedonian and the Yugoslav) were envisaged by the program. In addition to the representatives of the SKM-PDP, the Alliance of Reform Forces of

Macedonia, and the Socialist Party, the representatives of the Party of Democratic Prosperity of Tetovo were also in favor of both anthems being played. This proposal was also supported by Vladimir Golubovski, who has been elected representative of the VMRO, but does not recognize the current leadership of this party and has recently declared himself president of the VMRO.

In the end, it was decided by a majority vote that both the Macedonian and the Yugoslav anthems be played. There was also some polemics during the discussion on which new Macedonian officials should attend the upcoming talks on the future of Yugoslavia on 10 January and what kind of stands they should hold. The polemics ended with the announcement of a break. After the break the deputies' mandates were verified but this was followed by yet more polemics, this time about the method of electing the president of the Macedonian Assembly (open or secret ballot), and certain provisions in the rules of procedure. All polemics were conducted between the representative of the VMRO and the SKM-PDP, for whom, it appears, this was the first clash. The impression is that the so-called left parties (the Alliance of Reform Forces, the SKM-PDP, and the Socialist Party) held similar views. The Albanian party, the Party of Democratic Prosperity, somehow remained on the sidelines. The party's representatives told us that they were not satisfied because they were not invited to talks on the top posts in the republican parliament even though this party was the third strongest party according to the number of deputies (23), after the VMRO and the SKM-PDP. Representatives of the Party of Democratic Prosperity said that, as a very strong party, they will not accept inferior positions and that if representatives of this party (who are mainly Albanians) are not offered more important posts or at least one of the presidential posts (the president of the republic, the president of the assembly, or the president of the government), they would rather remain in the opposition in the parliament.

The numerous polemics in the parliament were certainly influenced by the fact that the agreement of the three parties on the division of the three presidential posts that had previously been reached collapsed at the last minute, because last night bishop Mihail decided to step down as a candidate for the post of the president of the republic. At the same time, members of the SKM-PDP insisted (in a closed session) that Kiro Gligorov be nominated candidate for the post of the president of the republic. This has probably put an end to the agreement according to which Petar Gosev would be the president of the republican government, because the VMRO does not agree with the idea of the prime minister being from the ranks of the SKM-PDP if the president of the republic is a communist. Negotiations are still going on behind the scenes about how to resolve the parliamentary crisis. The VMRO is now mentioning Dr. Blaze Ristovski as its candidate for the president of the republic. Another surprise was the news that an independent candidate from Gevgelija, Todor Petrov, will also be put forward as a candidate for the president of the republic. There are also rumors that Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski could also emerge as a "trump." There were also polemics about whether Dr. Tupurkovski should take part in the talks on the future of Yugoslavia. The idea of his being present was criticized by representatives of the VMRO. Tupurkovski was also praised. After his return from Australia he frequently appeared in the Macedonian media. It appears that the only undisputed candidate is the candidate for the president of the assembly, Stojan Andov.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Golubovski Is Hiding His Supporters

Following the rift in the VMRO-DPMNE, when its former president Vladimir Golubovski (who was earlier elected as a republican deputy) founded his own party, the VMRO, Golubovski said at a news conference that he still does not want to announce the names of the VMRO deputies who share his views, but said that their number is not negligible, and that they will form a parliamentary group.

Golubovski said that he will file criminal charges against the president of the VMRO, Ljupco Georgijevski, who accused Golubovski of working for, as well as against, the state security services and that it was in fact these services that told had told him him that. He also stressed that he is the legitimate leader of the VMRO because he is supported by three branches, the Ohrid, Resen, and Struga branches. Golubovski claims that the VMRO leadership has recently been joined by careerists, that the influence from the side is obvious (the work of Dragan Bogdanovski from abroad), and also repeated the accusation that the funds from emigres were collected and misused in an illegal way.

Macedonian Deputies Disagree on Power Sharing

AU1601113191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 91 p 3

[D. Nikolic and N. Batkoski report: "Who Has Violated the Agreement"]

[Excerpt] Skopje—The new Macedonian parliament has authorized the newly elected president of the Macedonian Assembly, Stojan Andov, to take part in the talks about the future of Yugoslavia in the SFRY Presidency and to present the stands verified by the parliament.

In the continuation of the Macedonian parliament's session of the night before last, there were sharp polemics between the representatives of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and the SKM-PDP [the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation] about the reasons why the parties' agreement on the division of top republican posts collapsed. Ratka Dimitrova, deputy from the ranks of the VMRO, accused the SKM-PDP leadership of not respecting the inter-party agreement saying that the VMRO will therefore not propose any candidates, not take part in the voting on

the top posts, and that it is going into opposition. A similar accusation was made at a news conference in the assembly building by Ljupco Georgijevski, leader of the VMRO-DPMNE, saying that the SKM-PDP is behaving as if it did not want to acknowledge and accept the fact that it has to share power in Macedonia with somebody else. He stressed that this boiled down to a planned agreement between the SKM-PDP and the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia aimed at assuming power themselves.

Petar Gosev, leader of the SKM-PDP, said that during the negotiations, the VMRO insisted too much on its representative being the president of the government and that the majority of ministerial posts should go to the VMRO. The VMRO also insisted on Ljupco Georgijevski being elected prime minister, which the SKM did not agree, taking the position that the new prime minister should be someone with more experience, and that the posts of the minister of internal affairs and justice should be held by someone who does not belong to any party. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Deputies Reject Sovereignty Call

AU1601111991 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 12 Jan 91 p 2

[K. Cangova and Z. Darkovska report: "The Draft Declaration on the Full Sovereignty of the Macedonian State"]

[Excerpt] During yesterday's discussion about the agenda in the assembly, the representatives of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] wanted the agenda to be extended with, as they said during a polemic discussion, one more point: The draft declaration on the full sovereignty of the Macedonian state. The proposal was not accepted because, as explained, the adoption of such an act requires a broad and extensive discussion. [passage omitted]

BORBA, YUTEL Sign Cooperation Agreement

AU1401154691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Jan 91 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Agreement Between BORBA and YUTEL"]

[Text] Belgrade—The involvement of BORBA journalists in YUTEL programs and YUTEL journalists in the publications of the BORBA Newspaper Publishing Enterprise, exchange of information, reports, and articles, joint use of offices at home and abroad, joint use and development of advertising services, and joint planning and financing of projects in the spheres of publishing and telecommunications, are, in brief, the essence of an agreement on business, technical, and information-program cooperation that was signed yesterday by the directors of the two information dissemination houses, Nebojsa Tomasevic (YUTEL), and Ivan Mrdjen (BORBA Newspaper Publishing Enterprise).

The agreement could not, of course, include all those activities that will follow in the course of next few months, when YUTEL starts transmitting four and half hours of programs per day for all of Yugoslavia. This will offer a wide range of possibilities for the printing and editorial expansion of the publications of the BORBA Newspaper Publishing Enterprise.

Justice Secretariat Investigates Journalist

LD1001225691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Secretariat for Justice announced today it would start an investigation against Zvonko Logar, staff journalist of the Belgrade POLITIKA daily, because of "communicating false assertions."

In a recent POLITIKA commentary, Logar wrote that the Federal Government had in an unauthorized way used resources from the primary money issue. The government, Logar wrote, used "uncovered" loans to pay out part of the earnings of its employees and officials.

The information secretariat denied Logar's assertions today, saying that on two occasions last year loans were taken up from the primary money issue for the purpose of the Yugoslav Army and were paid back in due time.

The denial explicitly said that "The Yugoslav Government, headed by Ante Markovic, does not owe one dinar to the National Bank of Yugoslavia."

The commentary by the POLITIKA journalist was published after the Federal Government announced that the Republic of Serbia had secretly taken up a credit in new money amounting to around 80 billion dinars (1.4 billion dollars). The commentary asserted that such loans were taken also by other republics and by the Federal Government.

Krsko Nuclear Plant Serviced, Working Again

AU1101125391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "'Krsko' Is Working Again"]

[Text] Zagreb—After the regular annual servicing, the Krsko nuclear power plant is in operation again. According to information from the Croatian electrical power generating industry, our only nuclear power plant, which has been undergoing regular service since 16 November, began working at 0539 [0439 GMT] on 2 January and since yesterday has been working to a capacity of 150 megawatts. The gradual process of reactivating the plant is continuing according to the regulations for the checking procedure, so around 8 January, the nuclear power plant should be producing to its full capacity.

The regular service was performed within the planned period of 45 days and was concluded according to the program.